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THE EMPEROR AKBAR,

A CONTRIBUTION

TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF INDIA

IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

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BY

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS,

COUNT OF NOER.

DATA ENTERED

VOL. II.

EDITED FROM THE AUTHOR'S PAPERS

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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TO THE MEMORY

OF

HIS SERENE HIGHNESS PRINCE FREDERICK

AUGUSTUS OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN,

COUNT OF NOER.

The second volume has been edited by Dr. Gustav von Buchwald. It was published after the Count's death, and is dedicated to his memory. Dr. Buchwald's preface is as follows:

PREFACE.

The Count of Noer devoted himself till death to his "Emperor Akbar." It was not granted to him to subject the second volume to a complete elaboration. As I was entrusted by the Countess of Noer with the duty of carrying out the author's design, his papers were made over to me, and also valuable pencil-notes which had been made by him in the books of the Noer library. With this guidance I believe that I have carried out the intentions of the author as far as possible. Much space has been given to extracts from the sources, or original records. The use of them is one of the great charms of the book. They are new, and as yet have been little worked, and the translations are certainly defective. But it is to be hoped that one result of this attempt will be to stir up inquirers to undertake a new handling of the origins of our information about this great historical epoch.

GUSTAV VON BUCHWALD.

NEUSTRELITZ, *July*, 1885.

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SECTION IV.

THE PACIFICATION OF INDIA AND THE CONQUEST OF KASHMI'R.

CHAPTER I.

The Insurrections in Bengal.

Akbar had sat for twenty years on the throne of Hindústán. The chivalrous youth who had given such frequent proof of courage and high endowment, had matured, in the storm of this stirring period, into an experienced man and one filled with a sense of the dignity and, still more, of the lofty duties of the sovereign to whom it was given to stamp his genius deep on his age in a manner possible only in the far East where the masses are wont to yield to the force of strong character.

By 1576, he had made his empire equal to those of Bábar and Húmáyún in the days of their greatest successes. He had redeemed what his father had lost through fraternal dissension and lack of statesmanship, and he now ruled an empire such as Rome had barely compassed. Upon it from the south, the Vindhyá crests looked down; from the north, the ice-crowned summits of the Himálaya; westward, Kábul did homage; eastward, re-

984 H.

mote Kaṭak. In all its mosques, the khuṭbah was read for Akbar; his name adorned its coinage: he nominated the mighty çúbahdárs who administered its provinces; his farmáns assigned their fiefs and mançabs to its nobles. One marvels when one compares with it the disrupted tract of the time when the boy sovereign began his heroic course and took up arms to win again his fathers' heritage. Every foot of his land, he had wrested, in stubborn fight; he had overcome Afgháns, Patháns, Uzbaks and Rájpúts; he had subjugated Gujrát and Bengal. When we reflect that these giant results are the work of one man, and that only his steadfastness and talent held together those many thousands whose swords wrought the prodigious task of restoring the empire of Hindústán, our admiration follows the victor. But not only the victorious Akbar captivates us, far rather does Akbar the man and the administrator. Other and mightier tilters against the world had trodden Indian earth; men, such as Akbar's own forbear, the blood-stained Timur, had desolated and subjugated the lands of Indus and Ganges, but no one of them had ever advanced them or administered them with politic clemency. In this lies Akbar's greatness—he did not, in the intoxication of victory, rest upon his reddened laurels, but he laboured to heal the wounds he had inflicted, in order that he might guide his empire towards a new civilization. This was a task which by its nature bespoke countless difficulties before which a man of lower stamp would have despaired.

The period from 1576-7 to the date of the completed conquest of Kashmír forms a new era in Akbar's life—one which may be distinguished as that of the pacification of Hindústán. 984—985 H. It is an epoch full even to surfeit of battles and in which there is rarely repose for arms, but in it the imperial sword is no longer drawn for conquest only but to maintain internal peace and to assure tranquillity and the shelter of the law to the people. Dazzling as was theheight to which Akbar had attained as a conquering king, much was still wanting to consolidate his power, for the great diversity in the constituent parts of his empire rendered its coherence feeble. It is true that from the beginning, Akbar endeavoured, by tempering just severity with diplomatic propitiation, to promote homogeneous unity but, although he repeatedly sheltered the oppressed and converted the vanquished into faithful friends, it was impossible to stifle the sparks of disaffection which glimmered under the ashes and broke into flame before the slightest breeze. There dwelt in his realms, followers of two faiths, separate by blood, custom, civilization, law and religion and who were more sharply opposed to one another than was the German at the end of the 12th century to the subjugated Slav of the Baltic. If in this latter case, the conqueror was the superior in culture and knowledge, it was by no means uniformly so with the Mughul. It was truly wise of Akbar to bend the force of his steadfast will to the redemption of the Hindús, for it was from amongst them that he

chose Todar Mall, the best and consequently, by the Mughuls, best-hated statesman whom Hindústán had seen since the days of Bairám Khán.

It was fortunate for Akbar and his magnificent plans of reform that each body of his antagonistic subjects was not compact in itself, the Muhammadans who are commonly grouped as Mughuls, were a motley mingling of Central Asian peoples, with an alloy of Persian and Arab blood, while the Hindús were by no means pure Aryans and were of several races. In either rank moreover the main bond of nations—identity of belief—existed only in outline. The followers of the Prophet segregated themselves into Sunnís and Shí'ahs; these again and particularly the last into numerous sects. The Hindús fell asunder into Sivaism and Vishnuism as well as into modern Bráhmanism. The Buddhists were fewer and there were also Fire-worshippers whose cult exercised a certain attraction upon the emperor himself. These divisions, it is true, often provoked bitter strife, but they also lightened the emperor's labours most materially when he took up the work of reconciling not only the political but also the religious repugnances of his subjects. The difficulties with which Akbar had to contend become clearer on consideration of some of the institutions which he abolished. It has been already recorded that he repealed the opprobrious tax of the

973 H. *jazyah* in 1565. Is it, however, conceivable that mortal man should, in the brief space of barely two years, be able to extirpate from hundreds of thousands of men an intolerance such

as gave birth to the *jazyah?* "God himself commands us to despise the Hindús" said the Muhammadans of both sects, supported by the Qorán (Suras 9 and 29). From this intolerance issued an enactment such that no other could more afflict a Hindú whose creed keeps him in unremitting dread of contamination and consequent loss of caste—his highest good. "When the collector of the Díwán "asks them, (the Hindús) to pay the tax, they should "pay it with all humility and submission. And if the "collector wishes to spit into their mouths, they should "open their mouths without the slightest fear of con-"tamination, so that the collector may do so. The "object of such humiliations and spitting into their "mouths is to prove the obedience of infidel subjects "under protection, and to promote the glory of the "Islám, the true religion, and to show contempt to "false religions."* Akbar had forbidden this nauseating indignity. Must he not therefore, at the time when he stood forth to millions of anxiously pious Hindús as a heavenly messenger of redemption from shame and abasement, have seemed to the Muhammadans a scorner of his ancestral faith? If he desired to reconcile antagonisms so horrible and to lead his subjects towards a nobler future he was compelled to assume the position of God's shadow on earth and of a bearer of the divine commission. "Even animals "form unions among themselves and avoid wilful vio-"lence; hence they live comfortably and watch over "their advantages and disadvantages. But men, from

* Blochmann, 237, n.

"the wickedness of their passions, stand much more in "need of a just leader, round whom they may rally; "in fact their social existence depends upon their "being ruled by a monarch!" Thus philosophizes Abul Fazl, direct from the soul of his friend; for the very voice of Akbar sounds far more from the A'ín-i-Akbarí than from the Akbarnámah. The above passage, like many another, shows that, in conversation with his philosopher, Akbar had grown more conscious that only his personality—borne upwards by high ideals above the brawls of tribes and parties—was fitted to serve as the foundation of a united empire and to spread peace over Hindústán. But such an augmentation of royal power, such aspiration after real civilization and legal administration under the one Pádsháh in whom the State should be incarnate was a thing unheard of by the arbitrary and self-seeking grandees. Few indeed understood the conception of the great emperor as did the author of the *Institutes of Akbar*; his action, in so far as it bore political fruit, Todar Mall only comprehended who was the soul of the revenue and army reforms and who, even if unable to follow the flight of Akbar's genius into the regions of religious philosophy, yet served him with unreserved fidelity, because in him he saw the redeemer of his people. Up to

984 H. 1576 and in spite of his possession of the coveted kettle-drum, Todar Mall had stood only second or third in civil rank. Muzaffar Khán and above all others, Sháh Mançúr controlled what one may approximately call the Ministry of the Interior.

Later on again, when the Rájah filled a position which in power was perhaps second only to that of the emperor, he waived the title of Díwán and was, by virtue of his office, a Finance Minister without portfolio—in reality however, he was as much of a Prime Minister as was conceivable in presence of a sovereign so all-dominant as Akbar.

Although Akbar's levelling ordinances were, by the mass of the people, greeted joyfully as rich in blessing, it must be remembered that oriental nations are prone to ready submission to powerful chiefs. This characteristic fact differentiates this period of eastern history from that of contemporary Europe. In Europe, the social movements of the 16th century issued from the depths of the people; men from the lowest stratum were carried to the top and, particularly in Germany, disowned their origin neither in act nor word. Such popular parties were unknown in the East, where all great reforms trace back direct to distinguished men who knew how to lead and attach the people to themselves. Their opponents consequently were not found in the populace but amongst its captains, and the struggle for reform invariably assumed the guise of a contest for sovereignty—a contest through which Akbar also was bound to pass.

In time of peace, the grandees of the empire, the privileged feudatories, the jágírdárs were petty kings; in time of war they were more often the allies than the servants of their Pádsháh. Whether the latter should be more than "primus inter pares" was sim-

ply a question of strength. If Akbar would be true to his high kingly calling—a calling to which all that was great and noble in his soul impelled him—he had to undertake, under far more difficult circumstances, a contest such as was fought out by Richelieu, Mazarin and Lewis XIV, and such as the magnanimous Charles V. initiated and in which he miserably failed. The German emperor, on whose lands the sun never set, had at his disposal practically only a very insignificant force, for he was dependent upon the wavering fidelity of a self-seeking nobility. So too it was with Akbar, though his personal elevation, warmth of heart and almost proverbial knowledge of men always contrived to gather him faithful adherents. Moreover, there were, among the princes in India, men of nobler parts than there were in Germany. Their very culture was higher and more refined. Where in Germany, for example, was the peer of 'Abdurrahím, Bairám's son, the poet whose songs are still sung, the learned translator of Bábar's Memoirs, the valiant conqueror of Gujrát?

With all his personal advantages, Akbar's power at the opening of the reform campaign was extraordinarily small. We possess a narrative, dated 1582 and describing with masterly perspicuity this troubled period as seen by the Jesuits of Goa. It certainly, in obedience to a definite bias, represents Akbar's situation in the most unfavourable light, yet it is worthy of credence when it says, "If Akbar has his troops together and if there is no "rebellion on hand, he possesses a great force, for

990 H.

"besides the levies of his mançabdárs, he has some "5000 war-elephants and 40,000 troopers, as well as "innumerable infantry: he has many commanders of "12,000 and 14,000 horse, with numerous elephants, "and again other commanders of 5000, 4000 and "under." As our first volume has shewn and as our sequel will still further show, the conditions introduced by the "if" were very seldom realized. This need excite no surprise if but a glance is given at the map of Hindústán. By so much is it the more wonderful that Akbar, who had always to rely upon the armies of his feudatories, was not only able to hold his own but also to make conquests. To appreciate his steadfastness at the present crisis, it is necessary to make a rapid survey of the gloomy situation. Even with all the criticism obtained from native authorities, it cannot be denied to the Jesuit chronicler that the emperor's position was in the highest degree threatening when a Goanese priest could write, "The "affairs of the king 'Equebar' are in utter con-"fusion, so that one can believe rather in a worse-"ning than a bettering of the situation, for there "prevails in Bengal a rebellion in which ten thousand "Mughuls and twenty thousand Patháns are taking "part"—when he also remarks of the great mançabdárs in Gujrát whose names are recognizable even under their Spanish disguise, that Akbar met with little obedience from them for they are "as well from their "origin as from their military strength, their bravery, "audacity and experience, men of great influence, and "although they have not yet actually declared war

"against the king, it is thought certain that they await "some favourable opportunity to rise in insurrection "and to effect a junction with Amighan, (Muzaffar III*) "the pretender to the country of Kambay. Moreover "he has great trouble with his brother, the prince of "Kábul!" It was not without solidarity that Bengal, Gujrát and Kábul rose almost simultaneously to arms and that Málwah betrayed an ominous ferment which drew strength from the Dak'hin. Akbar was flung by the hand of Providence, a rock, into the ocean of Indian history and round him raging eddies rose and broke. It is the aim of the following chapters to describe the storms which beat upon that rock but stirred in it not the faintest tremor.

Bengal must claim our immediate attention because in it, the revolt first made head and there assumed its most pernicious form, to fall at length before Todar Mall into petty feuds which though they desolated separate portions of the province were powerless to shake the empire. The feudal conditions of the Chagatâï leaders in Bengal had assumed a form which favoured the independence of the jágírdárs and their fellow-tribesmen to a degree which, in the eyes of Akbar and his loyal statesmen, must have appeared irreconcileable with the policy of imperial unity. These leaders had come into Hindústán as the comrades in arms of Bábar and Humáyún. Definite districts had indeed been assigned to them in jágír but their grip of possession had become far too powerful for it to take effect according to the measur-

* More probably Amín Khán Ghorí. Trs.

ing rod. German history knows instances—and this specially in the Wendish earldoms and bishoprics of the 12th and even of the 13th centuries—of similar high-handedness which, justified originally, aroused with the advance of civilization a wearisome series of feuds and processes. This was the case on a far larger scale in Bengal. To the haughty Mughul chiefs who felt themselves the comrades and associates of their sovereign, the conquest had afforded, under pretext of sword law, many an opportunity of expelling the earlier feudatories, Muhammadan Afghâns or Hindú zamíndárs and of exploiting the land revenue. As vassals of the marches towards Orisá and the still unsubjugated east, they were compelled to live under arms, and this they were not disposed to do without profit. Pursuing their earlier practice, they furnished the Crown with fictitious reports of their forces and its horsing. To check this mischievous insubordination, two decrees were promulgated which had the double aim of asserting the supremacy of the Crown and of obliterating the harsh traces of conquest. The first concerned the *dágh o mahalli,* the branding and registering of the mounts to be furnished by the feudatories. Interposing, as this did, a bar to the defraudment of the Crown, it was a stumbling-block in the path of the avaricious chiefs. The second decree insisted upon documentary evidence of the grounds on which the jágírdárs held their fiefs and, as things were, was simply a demand for the surrender of a considerable part of their lands. The importance of this decree was one of more than

provincial policy. As such, it was a thoroughly just and clement procedure towards the vanquished, but regarded as a step in the growth of the empire, it procured for the Crown a degree of power hitherto unknown. By it, the jágír, which in Bengal was even more free than the Danish fief, was cut back almost to the limit for which service had to be rendered, but above all, it insisted that fiefs were not irrevocable and were granted, at longest, for life and by favour of the Pádsháh. This purely legal conception was in no way recognized by the Chagatáï leaders, for whom the jágír was land which they had won at personal risk and settled with their own followers, though without the complete uprootal of its earlier inhabitants. To the emperor, they held that they owed merely such subsidies and service as they were pleased to mete out, and they regarded every interposition by him in the affairs of Bengal as an encroachment on their rights.

It would appear that the Bengal question was thoroughly discussed in a state council to which Akbar at Kot-pakalí, on Nov. 13th 1577, called Muzaffar Khán, Todar Mall and Sháh Mançur. "Many affairs of moment" says Abul Fazl* "were transacted. Bihár was now given "to Shujá'at Khán and Mír Mu'izzul Mulk, and the "mint which was before in charge of one officer was "now divided" and given, amongst others in other districts, to "Todar Mall in Bengal and Sháh Mançúr "in Ja'unpúr." * * * * * * *

2nd Ázar, 985 H.

* Chalmers, II, 220 and Elliot, VI, 57. Blochmann, 430. Trs.

* * * * * * * * *

It was at this juncture that the Emperor initiated the contest with the 'ulamás which has been already described (Vol. I, Chap. 6) and in the beginning of which he was restrained by political wariness from outwardly breaking with Islám. Powerless at court but potent in the country, the mutinous clerics laboured to excite ill-feeling against the emperor who, having eased the Hindús from the Muhammadan yoke, was passing on to set up the standard of religious toleration. Their plaints found echo among the amírs of Bengal who felt aggrieved by being subordinated to the "infidel" Hindú and "objected to " Akbar's innovations in religious matters in as far as " these innovations led to a withdrawal of " grants of rent-free lands."* In 1579-80, Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí and some other powerful chiefs induced Mullá Muhammad of Yazd, the Qází-lquzát (Chief Justice) of Jaunpúr to publish a *fatwá* which declared that it was lawful to take up arms against the emperor. Badáoní adds† "the Imáms said, " that the Emperor has in his dominion made encroach-" ments on the grant lands belonging to us and God. " (He is magnified and glorified.)" The insolence of this anathema epitomizes the rage of the 'ulamá circle and also the fateful covenant concluded by greed and fanaticism in the excited tempers of the jágirdárs of Bengal. Akbar must have perceived the danger in which he stood, from the official reports

987 H.

* Blochmann, 189. Trs.

† Lowe, 284. Trs.

sent up by the successive governors of the province.* Every step taken forward openly would have fanned the flame; every step openly taken backward no less, for it would have been set down to weakness. The emperor cannot have concealed from himself that, in his own dominions, he was face to face with a religious war, but—in sharpest contrast with his contemporaries both Asiatic and European,—his greatness as a man and as a ruler was shown in this, he was so far master of himself and above his age that he would not fight for a creed, but simply to break down the opposition of intolerant ecclesiastics, and to allow his people to open their hearts to their deity in what way soever the custom of their fathers or their own free will dictated. And yet a fight had to be fought for the crown, the empire and Akbar's ideal! Something had to be done and yet no step taken forward or backward! Truly a difficult hour in Akbar's career, for seldom has a great prince been placed in a situation of such delicacy; how did he extricate himself from this political dilemma? The question has already been answered in the exposition of Akbar's religious development but the present seems the first fitting time to set forth the political range of one of its most important phases. The emperor answered the anathema by that memorable declaration of the 'ulamá which declared him supreme in matters of faith.†

* * * * * * * * *

* Khán Jáhán and Muzaffar Khán. Blochmann 330, 331, 349. Trs.

† By a chronological error, Dr. v. Buchwald places the Fatwá of

Akbar, in 1576, replaced Khán Jáhán* in the government of Bengal by Muzaffar Khán Turbatí, a man against whom the reproach at least that he was not a follower of the Prophet could not be made and who, before his elevation to the díwání of the empire, had served as diwán to Bairám Khán.

End of 986 H.

Although the díwání was an office requiring from its incumbent all which is demanded from the head of a modern finance department, yet in the 16th century, division of labour had not so far progressed

Muhammad Yadzí before the Decree which declared Akbar the Imám of the time and Mujtahid. The Decree was issued on 20th Shahriur 987 H., in the 24th year of the reign. (Abul Fazl, Bib. Ind. III, 270; Badáoní, Blochmann, 184 ff. and Lowe, 276 ff. (N. B. Rajab corresponds to Shahriur.) The date in the Christian era corresponding to the above is August, 1579. (Cunningham.)

I can trace no date for the Fatwá but we know that it followed the appointment of Mullá Muhammad Yadzí to the Chief Justiceship of Jaunpúr, and this was made 18th Bahman, 987 H., in the 24th year of the reign. The corresponding Christian date is January 1580. (Abul Fazl, l. c. III, 281, Blochmann, 342.)

Apart from this evidence from dates, there is some obtainable from a consideration of the facts. Dr. v. Buchwald takes the Fatwá as the provoking cause of the Decree, but Badáoní tells us that the cause of the issue of the Decree was Akbar's long standing desire to unite the headships of church and state in his own person. The provoking cause of the Fatwá was not theological and therefore to be answered by a decree declaring Akbar the spiritual head of the time. The Fatwá was called out by irritation at interference with grant lands held by the chiefs, a matter of temporal sovereignty far more than of even the most far-fetched view of it as a church matter affecting sayurghàls. Akbar answered the Fatwá in another fashion. He at once sent for Mullá Muhammad Yadzí and Mu'izzul Mulk to come to court. In crossing the Jamnah, their boat "foundered." Badáoní openly says that this was Akbar's doing and Blochmann adopts the same view (Blochmann, 382; Lowe, 285). This error has necessitated excision from the text here and correction in several subsequent references to the point. Trs.

* Blochmann, 331 and 349. Todar Mall had been sent back to Court by Khán Jáhán in 984. Blochmann, 331. Trs.

as to allow any official soever to dispense with military training. Certainly to have been chief in command of a division predicated nothing of military capacity, for the emperor conferred such rank on his sons, even as three years' children when, palladium-like, they were carried into the field. By the same means, he occasionally tried to bestow on his courtiers the honour of martial glory, and we shall see that once when two of these were so indiscreet as not to subordinate themselves to a real soldier, the emperor lost an important battle, an army and a friend. Abul Fazl, who can describe no single military movement so clearly as the theologian Badáoní and still less, as the general of cavalry, Nizámuddín Ahmad, held a chief command in the Dak'hin with undoubted success. It was, however, another matter with Muzaffar Khán Turbatí. He had already given proof of military capacity* and his death declares him a brave man. If his contemporaries and, not least among them, Abul Fazl, judged him severely, the justice of history will bear in mind the circumstances which conditioned his unfortunate management of the war in Bengal and will leave to him the glory of dying true to his sovereign and to the beloved ones of his heart.

In the beginning of 1579, Muzaffar Turbatí entered upon the government of Bengal having as his díwáns, Rái Patr Dás and Mír Adham. A Muhammadan, Razawí Khán, was appointed paymaster general (Bakhshí) to the

3rd Farwadin, 987.

* Elliot, VI, 46. Blochmann, 349. Chalmers, II, 193. Trs.

troops which were about to be reorganized. The composition of this provincial ministry clearly shows that the emperor meant to deal leniently with the mutinous Chagatáï amírs. One appointment only foreshadows some severity and this is more than natural. The Qází of Jaunpúr* had suspended the great anathema over his lord and had preached sedition (for the offices of jurist and theologian are not separate amongst Muhammadan peoples). In the interests of the crown, it was necessary to oppose sharply a revolutionary tendency which has, even in recent times, demanded royal sacrifices in Moslim kingdoms. With foresight therefore, Akbar chose as the new Chief Justice of Bengal, (Çadr and Amín) Hakím Abul Fath, the man to whom Badáoní attributes the guilt of Akbar's abjuration of the Faith.†

In so doing, the emperor can hardly have meant more than to emphasize his own position, for Abul Fath fell into the background. Although, in the court and in intellectual intercourse with Akbar, the latter played a most distinguished part, he appears to have been insignificant in politics and, on one occasion, when, in the Afghán war, he attempted to act a part in history, it was to his own and Akbar's detriment. When Muzaffar took over the Bengal government, the ferment of revolt had spread far into the East, and there were not wanting directing hands of formidable strength. Secret relations had been knit up with Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's ambitious

* Blochmann, 189 and 424. Trs.

† Blochmann, 425. Trs.

and unstable half-brother of Kábul, for the eastern amírs planned nothing less than his elevation to the throne of Hindústán, as a means to ensuring their own illegal possessions and almost sovereign position. Not unobserved by Akbar, the 'ulamás stirred the glimmering fire. From time to time, Badáoní records the confiscation of free ecclesiastical holdings—a proceeding to which the emperor would hardly have assented, if it had not been rendered imperative by a threatening situation demanding reprisals. The banishment at this juncture of the avaricious Mauláná 'Abdullah, the Makhdúm ul Mulk, to Makkah must also have been connected with the revolutionary movement.

It cannot be denied that the amírs had substantial grounds of discontent, for in Jaunpúr, Khwájah Sháh Mançúr used a severity which was never contemplated by the Pádsháh. In compelling the jágírdárs to restore excess lands, he did not take evidence in each separate case as to the legality of the occupation, but fixed an average which did not spare even the well-affected. The assessed value of the Bengal jágírs was raised by one-fourth and of those in Bihár, by one-fifth. The extreme east of Bengal and the southern districts of Bihár were at that time by no means completely subjugated, while the independent chiefs of Orísá had considerable forces at command. Just as, in the German Middle Ages, a Margrave of the border was furnished with a force far exceeding that of a Count's rank, and as the marchers on the Old Holstein Wendish frontier, as

being "men of strong endurance and prodigal of their life's blood" were indued with prouder privilege than were the Germans of Holstein whom they defended, so were the Indian borderers. They were compelled to live under arms and therefore, regarded the lands they seized as a well-earned accretion to their fiefs. When, in the latter end of the 12th and in the 13th century, the royal rood measured off the "overland" from the fiefs of the great marchers and extorted tithe and service for it, many a sword flew from its scabbard and many a process was opened in the Courts. Indian or German, the contest is the same; a state colonizes its frontiers, granting favourable conditions to the settlers, on account of their dangerous enterprize; the risk lessens, the colonists become wealthy and the mother state attempts to extend her full rights over the new lands. The conflict in Bengal differs from that in Germany only in form and in harmony with the spirit of its age. In consideration of the climate of Bengal—the primeval home of pestilence and cholera—Akbar had considerably raised the pay of its garrison and of its greater chiefs. Sháh Mançúr seems to have been so possessed with the notion of state uniformity that, in its interest, he lost sight of equity. He lowered the military pay in Bihár by 30 per cent. and in Bengal by 50 per cent. Even on the sacred sayurgháls, he laid hand, possibly thinking that, as his master, for reasons which escaped Sháh Mançúr's intelligence, had undertaken to wage war on the 'ulamás, he too should do likewise. The theologians, (for of a priesthood, Mu-

hammadanism knows as little as does Protestantism) began to stir ill-blood and the jágírdárs of Jaunpúr and Bihár armed for insurrection. Sháh Mançúr's action was too violent for even the zealous Todar Mall who openly blamed the unnecessary severity used towards Maçúm Khán Faranchúdí and the thoroughly loyal Tarson Khán. It may be that this open blame created the report which, with manifest injustice, attributed to the rájah the guilt of the treacherous intrigue which later, led Akbar to put Sháh Mançúr to death. Disregarding the warnings of Todar Mall, the new governor, Muzaffar Khán, followed in the footsteps of Sháh Mançúr. "He was "harsh in his measures and offended men by his "words" justly observes his contemporary Nizámuddín. This severity and inconsiderateness first brought the rebellion to a head amongst the Qáqsháls, one of the proudest of the Chagatái clans. One of their chiefs, Bábá Khán, had, in the first instance, assumed a placable attitude and it would have been wise if Muzaffar, imitating Akbar's conciliatory clemency, had given friendly ear to Bábá Khán's request that his "jágír might be left undisturbed," and if he had recommended him to the emperor's favour. Instead of this, Muzaffar carried out the law in its full rigour and ordered him to pay the brand tax (*dágh*). This bred bad blood amongst the Qáqshâls and his subsequent treatment of Khaldín Khán seemed to them irreconcileable with their manly dignity. Muzaffar not only took away altogether from him the pargana Jalesar, a large property studded with villages, and

assigned it to Sháh Jamál-ud-dín Husain, but he demanded a sum of money which Khaldín Khán had received from the spring harvest. Whether, under other circumstances, such a literal interpretation of the law would have commended itself to Akbar must be left an open question, probably not. He must certainly have disapproved of punishing a chief of high rank with the degradation of the bastinado, as though for a simple embezzlement, and this, on account of an appropriation of money which occurred before the confiscation of his pargana. So far as the authorities allow a decision, that was a real breach of law. The legal aspect of the question is, however, of less importance than the political. At this very time, Akbar's brother of Kábul was arming for an inroad into the Panjáb and Muzaffar must have known the danger, for he had been ordered to capture and execute Roshan Beg, an agent of the Mírzá and who was moving amongst the Qáqsháls and instigating them to rebellion. Muzaffar accomplished his commission, and, in doing so, let fall some unpalatable words about Bábá Khán, evidently in the belief that the Qáqsháls would allow themselves to be intimidated. If, however, they had borne in silence the punishment of Khâldín Khán and the harsh dealing with Bábá Khán, the ill words now spoken about the latter, drove them to extremity. What Muzaffar said is not recorded, but when relations are strained to the pitch of revolution, an insignificant impulse often gives signal for disruption. In angry tumult the Qáqsháls gathered together, arms in hand.

"They* shaved their heads, put on their high caps and "broke out into revolt. Crossing the river they went "to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the "name of Lak'hnautí. There they collected men "and having found property of Muzaffar Khán in "several places, they took or destroyed it." To his first error, Muzaffar added a second: instead of opposing the rebels with his whole force and thus nipping the insurrection in the bud, he thought fit to send against them a small force under Hákim Abul Fath and Rai Patr Dás. Of these leaders Badáoní derisively remarks that the first was fonder of feasts than of fights (*yár-bazam na razam*) and that the latter was a mere Hindú clerk. Partizan though the Indian Procopius may be, his description sufficiently shows that the two commanders were not regarded as men of action.

Meantime, news of the disaffection among the Qáqsháls had reached Fathpúr Síkrí and Muzaffar's initial proceeding met with decided disapproval. Storm threatened from Kábul and Gujrát, there was excitement in Málwah and, to Akbar's political insight, it was clear that his reformers had gone to work with undue severity and that it was time to show some assuaging clemency. It must not be forgotten that, in spite of excellent postal arrangements, news traversed the vast empire only slowly, often too slowly for the rapid march of events. By return of post, Akbar despatched a farmán to Muzaffar, in which he set forth that "the Qáqshâls had long been servants

* Elliot V, 415. Trs.

"of the throne and that it was not right to injure "them; they were therefore to be conciliated and "encouraged with hopes of the emperor's favour" and of a friendly settlement of the jágír question. If these mild words had reached Muzaffar before Khaldín Khán had been degraded by the bambu rod, and before wounding words had fallen on the ears of Bábá Khân, the Qáqsháls might have used their long-tried valour for, instead of against, their sovereign. The benignant words, however, came too late; swords had been drawn when Akbar' s farmán arrived, for, mortified beyond endurance, the chiefs had resolved to wash out their shame in blood and to accept no kind of reconciliation. Muzaffar sent Rawazí Khán, Mír Abú Is-hâq and Rái Patr Das as mediators into the rebel camp, but anger was too high to allow hearing to words of peace. The royal envoys were seized and imprisoned; thenceforward the issue lay in the sword. The revolt had begun in Bengal and its sparks flew kindling into Bihár where there was certainly abundance of fuel in store. Following the example of Sháh Mançúr and Muzaffar, Mullá Tayyib and Bakhshí Rái Puruk'hotam had confiscated jágírs from the most distinguished commanders. In secret understanding with the Bengal rebels, two men, with great forces at command, put themselves at the head of the Bihár insurrectionary movement, 'Arab Bahádur and that Muhammad Maçúm Kábulí who, with others had obtained from Mullá Muhammad of Yazd the notorious fatwá against the emperor. An engagement, trifling in itself, took place when the

rebels attacked and plundered the dwellings of the two revenue officers and put Mullá Tayyib to flight. Ráí Puruk'hotam advanced towards them with some loyal subjects and gave his life for his sovereign, in an engagement fought* with 'Arab Bahádur. Although the whole affair is so unimportant that Nizámuddín merely touches upon it, yet, as being their first success, it raised the hopes of the rebels who now dared openly to make common cause.

While the Qáqsháls alone were opposed to Muzaffar and he should have hastened to destroy them, Muhammad Ma'çúm Kábulí was marching in great force to strengthen them. To this Ma'çúm, a *Kokah* of Mu. Hákím, Indian chroniclers give the sobriquet of 'Áçí, *i. e.*, the Rebel,—and to this name we shall adhere in order to avoid confusion between him and that other Ma'çúm who figures on this same scene,—Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí. Muzaffar saw his danger and tried to intercept Ma'çúm 'Áçí's march by sending Khwájah Shamsuddín Kháwafí to secure Garhí, the "key of the province." He had, however," says Abul Fazl† "been anticipated by "the miscreant enemy and part of the troops sent "thither basely giving way as soon as they confront-"ed the rebels, Shamsuddín was obliged to retreat "wounded from the walls." By this prompt movement, Ma'çúm 'Áçí got possession of the pass which gives entrance to Bengal and thereafter, with his whole force, made common cause with the Qáqsháls.

Rebels and loyalists had now each other's measure,

* After he had crossed the Jamnah. Elliot V, 416. Trs.

† Chalmers II, 246 *ff.* Trs.

and a nineteen days' skirmish began in which success was mainly to the imperialists. The insurgents were even meditating a retreat into Orísá and had, in the twentieth night, actually crossed the Ganges, apparently with this aim, when there occurred, in the royal camp, a momentous event for which no cause is alleged by the chroniclers.* This was the desertion of Wazír Beg Jamíl, Jan Muhammad Bibhúdí, Sharíf 'Álí Badakhshání, Kíjak of Qunduz, and perhaps other amírs, who, with their following, went over to the rebels. The reaction of this solid treachery upon Muzaffar Khán was terrible. His army was too much weakened to undertake any great enterprise; his confidence in the remnant was gone. He would listen to no suggestion, would neither attack himself nor let others act for him. At length, he so far manned himself as to send Khwájah Shamsuddín Kháfí, (whose wounds must, in some degree, have healed) with a few men to reconnoitre. Bravely the hero set forth, but fortune was as ungracious to him here as in the Pass of Garhi. He attacked a greatly outnumbering force and soon found himself deserted by his troops, wounded and overthrown. While he lay Muhammad 'Alí Arlát, a man whom he had once called friend, approached the spot. Shamsuddín cried to him for help but was greeted only by a thrust with a spear,—an incident which testifies to the height of the exasperation of rebel feeling. Twice wounded, the Khwájah lay on the ground, when Mírzá Muhammad Qáqshál, from whom he could have expected no aid,

* Elliot V, 416. Chalmers II, 247.

came by and took him before Ma'çúm 'Ácí who received him with the utmost humanity and consideration.* This might be supposed a flash of noble humanity illumining a murky hour, if the authorities did not tell us that, after the capture of Ṭánḍah, Ma'çúm' Ácí released his prisoner on payment of a heavy ransom; his humanity was well paid and besides, it is always an advantage to keep prisoner a hostile general for purposes of exchange.† Ma'çúm' Ácí was still upon the field of battle when he perceived a column advancing towards him. Thinking that Muzaffar Khán was coming to the aid of Khwájah Shamsuddín, the rebel army fell into confusion, but their terror resolved itself into satisfaction when the strangers announced themselves as the troops of the deserter, Wazír Beg Jamíl.

Muzaffar now saw that he could no longer keep the field and the war assumed another form. It may be that he should have risked another battle, but whether he was in a position to do this cannot be decided in face of the above examples of treachery among his generals. It must likewise remain an open question whether he was to be blamed for occupying Ṭánḍah, a fort which Nízámuddín and Badáoní describe as "nothing better than four walls"—it was the nearest fortified position. However this may be, the enemy did not at first venture to attack but tempted Muzaffar

* Chalmers II, 246*ff*. Trs.

† Blochmann (446) gives a different account of this matter and says that Shams was tortured by Ma'çúm, then released at the request of 'Arab Bahádúr and finally, made his escape. Chalmers gives the ransom story as above but without comment. Nizámuddín, Elliot VI, 416, supports Blochmann. Trs.

to treachery by the offer of safe personal retreat and of the retention of the third part of his valuables—an offer which Muzaffar rejected with scorn. Only for the women of his household he asked consideration, sending to Ma'çúm' Ácí 20,000 gold muhrs with a petition that he would ensure their safety in case it came to a storm of Ṭánḍah. Ma'çúm' Ácí who had, after his fashion of magnanimity, sheltered the wounded Khwájah Shamsuddín, took the gold and gave the promise. The day of attack broke and the insurgents stormed victoriously over the four walls into the town. Muzaffar stood, in complete armour, at the door of his house to defend its inmates. With hypocritical friendliness, Ma'çúm' 'Ácí shouted a greeting—then women's voices rose in lamentation within the house, for, breaking their leader's word, Ma'çúm's soldiers had entered by a door in the rear. Muzaffar was hastening to the rescue when he fell on his threshold by a traitor hand. Thus died a man in whom Akbar had reposed great confidence. Granted that he executed his master's orders with undue severity and had thus his share in the outbreak of rebellion, he did not deserve an end so inglorious and so tragic. One merit posterity will not be able to deny to him, that of incorruptible loyalty to his master and emperor.

Thus, within a few months, had three important provinces been lost and, what was still worse, there were ranged among the insurgents many chiefs and fellow-clansmen of the emperor, with thousands of seasoned Chagatáï troops whose earlier fidelity and valour had won for Akbar his most brilliant victories

and who, up to this time of trouble, had ever been the chief support of his internal policy. For the rebels, the downfall of Muzaffar was an intoxicating success. The equipage and treasure of the royal army fell into their hands and distinguished prisoners, such as Khwájah Shamsuddín were compelled to pay heavy ransom, under which circumstances it did not weigh much that Rái Patr Dás and Hakím Abul Fath found an opportunity to escape. They got away after the storming of the fort and were helped forth to Hájípúr by faithful Hindús. Great as was the booty gathered together by Ma'çúm' Ácí, Muzaffar's store of gold to the value of 800,000 rupís escaped him. Before the storm, Muzaffar had laden this in a boat which floated in one of the reservoirs. The secret was known only to a state prisoner who was now, by means of the treasure, to play the chief part among the rebels until such time as the poison of Ma'çúm' Ácí should make an end of him. This prisoner was Mírzá Sharafuddín Husain.* He had joined the rebellion of the Mírzás and, being captured, Akbar, "to frighten him, ordered "him to be put under the feet of a tame elephant "and, after having kept him for some time imprison-"ed, sent him to Muzaffar Khán, who was to give him "a jágír should he find that the Mírzá shewed signs "of repentance; but if not, to send him to Makkah. "Muzaffar was waiting for the proper season to have "him sent off when Mír Ma'çúm i Kábulí ('Ácí) re-"belled." In Ṭánḍah, the Mírzá found an opportunity of spying out the treasure of his guardian and,

* Blochmann 323. Trs.

with it, escaped to the rebels who welcomed him and were now able to have as their leader, one in whose veins the blood of Timur flowed. • • •

The rebels now, on 12th May 1579, endeavoured to give some guise of legality to their wanton enterprise by proclaiming Muhammad Hakím their sovereign. They also placed at their head, as general, another Timurid, Sharafuddín Husain and distributed the lands of the province, with titles, honours and distinctions amongst their "recreant crew."*

1st Khurdád 987.

Another formidable person, though little noticed up to this time, was Muzaffar III, the pretender of Gujrát who now used the prevailing confusion to escape from a loose custody to his distant home and plan a campaign which will claim subsequent attention. At this same juncture, Partáb Singh, the defeated Rájpút sovereign, descended from his inhospitable mountains to fish in the troubled waters at Gogandah, while in Kábul, Muhammad Hakím was arming and threatening an inroad into the Panjáb. Akbar's throne tottered but he himself stood firm and with stern tranquillity watched the course of events from Fathpúr Síkrí. In old days and as a youth, when it concerned the restoration of the kingdom of his fathers, Akbar had rushed regardlessly into danger, often accompanied by merely a small band of trusty comrades; his sword crossed those of hostile cavaliers; it was his well-aimed bullet which pierced the gleaming mail of the

* Blochmann 323, Chalmers II, 246*ff*. Badáoní, Lowe 290, Nizámuddín, Elliot V, 417. Trs.

Lion of Chítor. But as a man and when the surge of rebellion dashed high, Akbar stood immoveable in the heart of his empire, restrained, not by indecision but by the untroubled calm of a fully matured judgment. Without a tremour and ready to move at any moment, he looked north-west to the Achilles heel of his empire, for a foreign army was balling itself together beyond Kábul and through Kábul had all invaders hitherto poured themselves down on Hindústán. So long as his paternal inheritance was not subdued, he had fought those who ruled in it as though they had been foreign enemies, but they once subjugated, he desired to be their prince of peace. The very reforms against which the selfishness of the grandees uprose, were designed to create the internal tranquillity of a splendid and advanced civilization. If now, he should pluck blood-stained laurels by desolating his own realms, would he still be to his subjects what he so gladly named himself—the shadow of God on earth? would he be a prince of peace? or not rather a despot to whom contemporaries would pay tribute of terror and trembling and to whom posterity would grant at highest, the glory of an enlightened tyranny? If he had put down this rebellion with his own hands, his contemporaries would have laid on him the guilt of every hardship which war, *ipsâ naturâ*, brings in her train: every village burned, every ravaged field, every head laid low—briefly, all and everything would, in the eyes of the country, have been the work, not of the sovereign power but of the bloodthirsty Akbar. If, on the other hand, he let loyal servants and adherents represent

him, the offended state and not the offended sovereign would seem to deal the blows. To set this idea clearly before the eyes of his people, he adopted a policy which had approved itself already—he backed himself upon the Hindús against his own congeners and, (as he then wished it to appear), co-religionists. The same deeper motive guided him here and in the promulgation of the Decree which declared him the infallible arbiter of the Faith. That he could so rely upon the Hindús best shows what recompensing harvest his wise toleration and love of justice had ripened. In truth, Akbar had matured into a man in whom heart and mind, profound humanity and the most prudent calculation had concluded an inner peace, in order to speed his iron will towards his goal.

Rájah Todar Mall, by firmness and talent, recommended himself to the emperor as the man best fitted to effect the pacification of Bengal. As a soldier, he united foresight with courage and, as a statesman, probity with wisdom but, above all, he was a financier of the first rank. Being such, he never for a moment forgot that every bullet, every incendiary torch which he allowed to fall into Bengal did so at the cost of the imperial treasury and recoiled destructively upon it. Bengal was no stranger land, but the emperor's own and its revenue capacity must be diminished as little as possible by the war. Simultaneously with Todar Mall's nomination to the chief command of the eastern provinces, farmáns were issued to the governor of Jaunpúr, Muhammad Ma'çúm Farankhúdí, to Samanjí Khán and to all the great feudatories ordering them

to place themselves under the rájah's banner so soon as he should enter the province.*

Before Ma'çúm Farankhúdí, at the head of his 3,000 well-equipped troopers, had received the imperial army, in Jaunpúr, a slight advantage was gained for the emperor in Bihár. A certain Bahádur had declared himself independent and had imprisoned his father, Sa'íd i Badakhshí, the jágírdár of Tirhút. Thereupon Sháham Khán Jaláir one of the few loyal vassals of Bihár who† "breaking off with the enemy, had happily raised the royal standard in Hájípúr" took up arms and defeated him. "Muhibb 'Alí Khán Rohtásí "contrived to drive the rebels out of Paṭnah (Patná) "which they had taken and, having there collected a "small body of troops, he was joined by Todar Mall, "Tarson Khán, Çádik Khán and other loyal leaders "from Jaunpúr, as well as by Sháham Khán, and these "also resolved to unite against the enemy." These details are certainly of no great importance in the story of the campaign but they afford proof that the whole rebellion, the enmity and loyalty to Akbar, were purely personal and not the outcome of a political idea. Externally, the rising of the Bengal amírs and of Muhammad Hakím of Kábul resembles only too closely the insurgence of the nobility which convulsed Germany in the first half of the 16th century. There is, however, an important difference between the cases. The German fief really took its rise in national peculiarities and a holding remained for centuries in the hands of the

* Nizámuddín, Elliot V, 417.

† Chalmers II, 249*ff*. Trs.

same princely family. In the strong impulse of the German peoples towards segregation, there was, not only among the nobles, but also among the populace, movement which tended to the disintegration of the unity of the State. Such movement was not present in Bengal, there the fiefs were at most three generations old and their tenants were not entwined with popular interests. Of political public spirit, the Oriental possesses small measure. It was only to the emperor and a few intimates that the conception of a civilized and legally constituted state had revealed itself. Abul Fazl defended the conception with the pen, the valorous rájah with the sword, but the haughty Chagatáï amírs remained estranged from the idea and indeed did not comprehend it. To them one thing only was clear—that Akbar's power waxed while their own was on the wane. When accordingly, the emperor demanded sacrifices for his high-flown idea, his claim seemed to them unjust and when Sháh Mançúr and Muzaffar attempted to enforce the royal will by severity, the amírs thought themselves bound to return force by force. The *pro* and *con* Akbar was with them purely a question of personal advantage. In almost none could unshaken confidence be reposed. For example; Ma'çúm Farankhúdí, soon after having led his troops to join Todar Mall, shewed signs of disaffection and uttered disloyal words. He "was a weak-minded man, his dignity "and the strength of his arms had turned his brain" says Nizámuddín, "thrifty alike of praise and blame.*

* Elliot V, 417.

It did not escape Todar Mall that the whole disturbance turned precisely on personal interest and upon this perception, he grounded his action both in his diplomatic intercourse with the rebels and, also, in his conduct of the campaign. "Rájah Todar Mall, "like a prudent and experienced man, temporized "with Ma'çúm Farankhúdí" continues our excellent authority "and did all he could to reassure and con-"ciliate him," admittedly with only temporary success, for Ma'çúm was shortly among the most disaffected. Mírzá Sharafuddín and Ma'çúm' Ácí and the Qáqshâls led against the rájah a force of 30,000 horse and 500 elephants, with war boats and artillery, and tried to tempt him to an engagement in the open, but the rájah was far too prudent to yield. "He had," says Nizamuddin, "no confidence in the "(cohesion of) the adventurers composing the enemy's "army" and, one may add, not over much in the fidelity of his own commanders, amongst whom differences had already arisen. He therefore did as Muzaffar had done; he occupied a fort but, with better judgment, selected Mungír for the purpose. Mungír was, however, too small to accommodate the whole of his troops and he therefore enlarged it by throwing up a quadrangular and spacious field work, in which he prepared to resist until the arrival of the auxiliary force for which he had urgently entreated the emperor. Moreover he was able to maintain constant communications with the court whence he received, at short intervals the not insignificant sum of a lakh of rupís, so that he had ample means at

command. The ardour of his soldiers was satisfied by daily skirmishes at the outposts. By these means, he gave the enemy time to become disunited and also, without angering by expressed suspicion, he effected a closer supervision over the feudatory troops than would have been possible during movements in the field. Spite of all, however, he was unable to prevent considerable desertions, *e. g.*, those of Humáyún Farmilí and Tarkhán Díwánah. The history of the four months' siege will show how justly Todar Mall had apprehended the situation. He had ample means at command and could provision his troops without inflicting hardship on the country, with which his communications remained open throughout. The insurgents, on the other hand, practised intolerable oppression on the rural population who besides, as being Hindús, were with rare exceptions in no way friendly to them. The rájah, indeed, contrived to win the population so far for himself and his sovereign's cause that they began to cut off supplies from the insurgent army. Forthwith the scarcity began to take effect.* There were no great and inspiring deeds of valour to be done before Mungír—no deeds offering resonant reward,—and he who knows the tedium of an ill-found camp, will understand the disaffection which must have prevailed among the rebels. Added to this were the results of an unhealthy climate, claiming victims even from among the highest. Bábá Khán Qáqshál, one of the earliest rebels, fell ill in Tánḍah and on receipt of the news

* Chalmers II, 256. Trs.

of his illness, his kinsman, Jabárí withdrew from before Mungír and hurried to his death-bed. Death and murder* snatched one after another from the besieging ranks, while dread of death caused others to retire until, at length, even before the arrival of reinforcements, the rebel chiefs perceived that they should not be able to maintain their position, if the imperialists should make a general sally. Ma'çúm 'Ácí consequently retreated to Bihár; 'Arab Bahádur also vacated his position and making a rapid march to Paṭnah, seized upon the city. Bahár Khán Kháçah Khail went into the fort of Paṭnah and held out.† Todar Mall despatched Ma'çúm Farankhúdí "under the eye of some other chiefs of undoubted loyalty" to his relief. According to Nizámuddín Ahmad, it did not come to fighting, for 'Arab raised the siege and retreated to Gajpatí, the formidable zamíndár of Hájípúr. On the other hand, Abul Fazl‡ says that 'Arab was "attacked by Muhibb 'Alí and the pursu-"ing party and, after a slight resistance, was defeated, "the fort escaping without any injury." At this point, Todar Mall had obtained the object for which he had occupied Mungir; the army of revolt had melted away and its chiefs were pursuing each his own interest, with diminished forces and without cohesion. They had now either to be won over or defeated in detail. The rájah followed up the advantages of his position and accompanied by Çádiq Khán,

* Chalmers II, 254. Trs.

† Chalmers II, 253. Elliot V, 418. Trs.

‡ Chalmers II, 254. Trs.

pursued Ma'çúm 'Ací, apparently considering him his most formidable adversary, into Bihár. In the night of 29th September 1580, there was a fight which at first threatened to end badly, for the rebels attacked the advance guard which was under Ján Beg and Ulugh Khán Habshí and it fell back, taken at unawares. Çádiq Khán, however, was on his guard and, having been reinforced by a troop with which were two elephants, he defeated Ma'çúm who escaped out of the rout. Bihár, as far as Garhí, thus fell into the hands of the royal troops. These however, did not follow up their advantage, for they were depressed, in spite of their victory, and moreover, the country was under water.*

15th Mihir 988.

After this affair, the rájah began the virtual reconquest of the country, his plan for effecting which is revealed with tolerable clearness by the movements of the armies. His aim was gradually to occupy the whole vast province and so, to take possession of the enemy's ground, to hem him in and then to strike. For this plan, his† army had been far from sufficient and he had repeatedly urged the request, preferred at first from Mungír, that the emperor would send a large force to Bengal. Akbar, who manifestly approved the rájah's plan, had pushed on the equipment with great energy. In choosing the man to whom, even above Todar Mall, he now entrusted the chief command of the eastern province, Akbar displayed the nice discrimination of a ruler of

* Chalmers II, 255. Elliot V, 418.

† Chalmers II, 250*ff*, 256*ff*. Trs.

men. His choice fell on Mírzá' 'Azíz Kokah, the son of that Shamsuddín Muhammad Atgah whom Adham Khán had murdered. After his father's violent end, 'Azíz had been received by Akbar with special favour and affection. He was now a man of refined culture, a brave soldier and gifted with noble qualities, but he was of a somewhat refractory disposition and this manifested itself in occasional frowardness, in self will and in incompatibility, and witnessed to a petted childhood. When Akbar introduced the check of the *dágh o mahalli* which had embittered the Bengal amírs, Mírzá 'Azíz was amongst its most turbulent opponents in Gujrát. Nevertheless, Akbar could not find it in his heart to be seriously angry with him, "Between me and 'Azíz" he was wont to say, "there is a river of milk which I cannot cross."* It is true that Akbar, in the 20th year, saw himself compelled to deprive him temporarily† of his rank but, three years later, he reinstated him in his dignities, though without employing him in state service. Now, in the 25th year, he offered him an opportunity to make good what he had marred and, in honourable trust, conferred upon him the supreme command of the army which was deputed to oppose the Bengal rebels, and bestowed on him the title of Khán i A'zam and the rank of mançabdár of 5000. Akbar himself sought both his foster-brother and the latter's uncle, Sharíf Khán and at the same time that he nominated, 'Azíz to the chief command, be-

* Blochmann, 325.

† Blochmann, 326. Trs.

stowed a dress of honour on Sharíf. Such strikingly mild procedure towards refractory grandees enables one to form an opinion of the gravity of the emperor's situation.

Although the sources yield here but scanty information, there is enough to prove that the rebellious impulse passed like an infectious disease from province to province among the greater feudatories. Previous to the outbreak in Bengal, the emperor had been pursuing a warlike policy into the Dak'hin from Málwah and there is frequent mention of undertakings planned and detail of preparation, but we are not able, with the materials at our command, to look deeper into the matter. Not till his later years, is it revealed by Akbar's action that, at this time and even earlier, he did not consider his empire completed towards the south. The conquest of the Dak'hin was one of his longest cherished plans and it is therefore allowable to conclude that only a pressing necessity changed his policy. Taken in connection with the advances, approaching almost to humiliation, which he made to the two above-named refractory grandees, the following words of Abul Fazl acquire high value, as a means towards estimating the crisis.* "The threatening appearance of affairs in the East rendered it necessary "to recal the amírs of Málwah and Gujrát from an expedition into the Dak'hin which they were desirous "of undertaking." Hasan the royal courier, conveyed a farmán to Shujá'at Khán, the çúbahdár of Málwah, commanding him to present himself at court.

* Chalmers II, 251.

Shujá'at accordingly set out, accompanied by his son Qawím but both were murdered on the way, as being loyal to the throne, by their own followers. Thus the spirit of insurrection strode also over the south of the empire. Wise and judicious was it, under circumstances such as these, that Akbar reconciled himself with Sharíf Khán and won his heart by the gift of the robe of honour. Sharíf could now be sent as governor into the chidden Málwah and Akbar could count on his fidelity. A slight incident, commemorated by the chroniclers, shows that, even in the stress of his empire's danger, Akbar was mindful of the desolate and helpless. Shujá'at Khán had left a family of infant children: these Akbar commanded to be brought to court, where he cared for them with the utmost liberality and like a second father.

Akbar had accelerated the departure of the new Khán i A'zam for Bengal to the utmost of his power, for he was obliged to direct his own attention towards the north-west.* He judged it expedient to associate with Mírzá 'Azíz, Shahbáz Khán Kambú, who was, at this juncture, engaged in a petty war with the exiled Partáb Singh and who subsequently contributed in no small degree to the pacification of Bengal and, five years later, operated in Jaunpúr.

While the imperial army under these two generals was marching to the theatre of the war, the rebels had made some progress and were attempting to cut off supplies from Todar Mall's camp at Mungír. Notwithstanding that the rájah, at one blow, effect-

* See subsequent chapter.

ed the capture of 300 river craft and thereby intimidated the enemy, the reinforcements despatched by Akbar were greatly needed. 'Azíz Kokah struck in most opportunely: he himself had advanced as far as Ghiáspúr when he heard that 'Arab Bahádur was in retreat on Sarangpúr, after an unsuccessful assault on Shahbáz Khán. He forthwith commissioned Sháham Khán Jaláir to dispute the ground with 'Arab at Sarangpúr and also left a considerable force under Ghází Khán Badakshí for the pacification of Bihár, while Tarson Khán was sent to Jaunpúr to hold in check Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí whom we saw a little earlier, although in a state of disaffection among the imperialists.*

Ma'çúm Khán's rebellion took place under the following circumstances. Before 29th September 1580, he had shown that his loyalty was doubtful. Abul Fazl says that he assumed towards Todar Mall, a turbulent and mutinous attitude and had even attempted to assassinate him. When 'Arab had invested Paṭnah on quitting his position before Mungír, Ma'çúm Farankhúdí was, as has been said, sent to relieve the fort "by way of getting rid of him." He made use of this opportunity of relaxed supervision to go off towards his jágír in Jaunpúr.† Nizámuddín's account of the complications with Ma'çúm Farankhúdí is brief but bears the semblance of truth. He lays the blame of

15th Mihir 988.

* Chalmers II, 257. It has been necessary here and in the following passages to quote from the sources. Trs.

† Chalmers II, 254. Possibly son of Sa'íd Badakshí. Trs.

the breach on Sháh Mançúr, the díwán whose severity had already provoked censure from the wary Todar Mall. The rájah had indeed written to the emperor on the subject. He had told Akbar that Sháh Mançúr had sent sharp letters to Ma'çúm Farankhúdí claiming a large sum of money from him; letters such as he had written to Tarson Khán and other amírs and this, at a time when "encouragement was necessary."* It was doubtless the representations of the rájah which induced Akbar to depose Sháh Mançúr temporarily from his office of díwán.† In his stead, Wazír Khán of Harát was appointed and, as his coadjutor in important questions, Qází 'Alí of Baghdád. Irritated by the demands of Sháh Mançúr, Ma'çúm Khán set off for his jágír of Jaunpúr, Todar Mall and Tarson Khán having meantime taken up quarters in Hájípúr for the rains. There Ma'çúm began to show signs of disaffection but none so serious as to prevent Akbar from sending to him Peshrau Khán, the quarter-master, to "set him at ease" and to offer him a jágír in Audh, in exchange for his present one in Jaunpúr which was thereafter bestowed on Tarson Khán. At first Peshrau's mission had the desired result; Ma'çúm behaved to the envoy with courtesy, manifested no disaffection and actually went to Audh. Here, however, a concatenation of circumstances dragged him into the whirlpool of rebellion. During the progress of the incidents above detailed, Niyábat Khán, the jágírdár of

* Elliot V, 419. Trs.

† Blochmann, 430. Trs.

Jhosí and Arail (Iláhábás)* had broken into rebellion, had made several successful marauding expeditions and had invested the fort of Karah. The combined forces of Khán i A'zam and Todar Mall now advanced against him and this induced him to retreat to Kantit, a dependency of Pannah. Thither the imperialists chased him and, after fighting them unsuccessfully, he fled, with the remnant of his troops, to Ma'çúm Farankhúdí to whom also had escaped 'Arab Bahádur after a defeat by Sháhbaz Khán. Ma'çúm welcomed the fugitives and it was certainly they who first talked him over into rebellion, for Nizámuddín adjudged him vain to the utmost degree. He saw himself, by virtue of his resources, the centre of the movement, for there were "thirty or forty banners, *tughs* and kettle-drums in his army."† The earlier leader of the revolt, Mírzá Sharafuddín Husain lay buried, poisoned with opium comfits by Ma'çúm 'Ací. Ma'çúm 'Ací, 'Arab Bahádur, Niyábat and all the other chiefs were doubtless much weakened by reverses and the wealthy and valorous Ma'çúm Farankhúdí must have considered himself the first among them and have been hurried by ambition to dispute Bengal with Akbar.

While the Khán i A'zam and Todar Mall were marching on Tirhút, Shahbáz was advancing to Jagdispúr (Audh) when he heard that Ma'çúm Farankhúdí had made common cause with 'Arab and Niyá-

* Blochmann, 425 and 425*n*. Trs.

† Elliot V, 421*n*.

bat and was in arms in Audh. In vain did Shahbáz urge him by letter to return to the path of loyalty, he was obstinate in his resolve to measure arms with Shahbáz and had already sent his family and effects into a place of safety accross the river. Shahbáz therefore marched towards Faizâbád (Audh) and on December 9th 1580, came up with Ma'çúm Farankhúdí's van near Sultánpúr Bilkarí, some 50 miles from the city. Shahbáz, in his first onset, drove the enemy back but Ma'çúm flung himself on the imperialists so impetuously that (to quote Abul Fazl) he drove them "into headlong "flight"* and followed Shahbáz up, he fighting all the way, to Jaunpúr, a distance of 60 miles.† This misadventure may have been due to the nature of the ground rather than to unskilfulness on the part of Shahbáz Khán, for dense jungle‡ intervened between him and the royal right wing, under Tarson Khán. Of the proximity of Tarson Khán, the enemy can hardly have surmised, for just when Ma'çúm Farankhúdí saw himself separated from his troopers in the heat of pursuit, he observed that a body of men was deploying from the jungle and taking up position. Delighted to fall in again with his own people, he galloped towards them, but on nearer approach recognized the badges of the emperor. There was no time for deliberation, he wheeled his horse and fled. His men meantime, had missed him but

13th Bahman 988.

* Chalmers II, 260.

† Blochmann, 400. Trs.

‡ Elliot V, 421.

between them and him, Tarson Khán interposed his troops and, by a flank attack, completely routed the wavering enemy. The victory was now complete for the royal cause, but the pride of Shahbáz Khán had suffered a "wholesome disabusement" which restored his natural energy and vigilance. During the next ten days, the enemy reünited their forces and were still busy with preparations when Shahbáz, burning to retrieve his martial honour, confronted them some 14 miles from the town of Audh on 20th December 1580. "The wily enemy "delayed his preparations, as if about to defer the "battle for the day, and the imperial troops had no "sooner halted to intrench themselves than the mo-"ment was seized to attack them, but they drew up "with alacrity for resistance"* and eventually won if not a brilliant victory yet a considerable advantage. The elephants which Shahbáz had lost at Sultánpúr Bilkarí, he recovered and moreover, took all the enemy's baggage. To this defeat, it is to be ascribed that many of Ma'çúm Farankhúdí's adherents laid down their arms. Abul Fazl speaks rather the opinion of the Fathpúr courtiers than a military verdict of any value when he says, "The supineness of Shahbáz, "who contented with his success, had not spirit to "advance half a step beyond the battle-field, was the "sole excuse of the safety of their leader who was "thus permitted to escape."† Shahbáz pressed on to Faizábád where Ma'çúm, deserted by 'Arab and Niyá-

24th Bahman.

* Chalmers II, 265.

† Chalmers II, 266. Trs.

bat, was making vain attempts to fortify himself—even a gun which he had placed in position, burst the first time of its discharge. Shahbáz captured the town and, with it, Ma'çúm's family—his mother, wife, sister and son—and all his treasure together with 150 elephants. Accompanied by a few followers whose number dwindled to seven, Ma'çúm fled. He was hospitably received and assisted with money by the zamíndár of Kowarí, evidence that he was not without friends in the country. Even when Shahbáz demanded from Rájah Mán (? Banaboy) that he should keep Ma'çúm imprisoned, the rájah helped him to steal forth on his flight.* He hurried from Audh on the way to Kábul, presumably with the intention of joining Muhammad Hakím, but he was waylaid by Qulij Khán and escaped into the Sewalíks. In him, was banished one of the most formidable of the rebels and, now that 'Arab Bahádur had fallen in an engagement with Çádiq Khán near Mungír, Akbar might regard as conjured the danger of a revolution which had been great enough to shake his throne. Much was still wanting to complete the pacification of Bengal and to dovetail the land of jungles into the empire. Before following Akbar's further efforts in this direction, it will be well to glance at the subsequent course of the insurrectionary war in Bengal.

In 1582, when Akbar was in Kábul, Ma'çúm Farankhúdí with the help of one, Maqçúd,
990 H.
collected troops and surprised and plundered the town of Bahráich. He was defeated by

* Blochmann, 444. Trs.

Wazír Khán and pursued to Kalánúr but contrived to get together another army and pressed on, plundering as he went, past Muhammadábád to Jaunpúr where three of the loyal amírs beat him back. In view of Ma'çúm's extraordinary talent for finding friends and troops, it was an important service which Mírzá 'Azíz rendered to the state when he effected a reconciliation between Akbar and Ma'çúm Farankhúdí. It was at once politic and magnanimous in Akbar so far to suppress himself as to grant a personal interview to the versatile rebel. Perhaps it may be counted a stroke of good fortune, perhaps it was a calamity for the warlike emperor, that this able man who might, if loyal, have been to the empire as useful as he was pernicious to it by his faithlessness, was murdered shortly after his reconciliation with his suzerain by a private enemy.*

One Ma'çúm had departed from the world but another remained. Ma'çúm 'Ácí (Kábulí) in conjunction with an Afghán, named Qutlu did his best from Orisá to injure the emperor. In 1582, Qutlú had certainly suffered a heavy reverse, but, reinforced by Ma'çúm 'Ácí, he was, in the year following, strong enough to find work for a great

990 H.

* Blochmann (444) says "People believed that Akbar had connived at the murder." The professor then adds "Compare with this, the fate of Mír "Mu'izzul-Mulk and Mír 'Alí Akbar, two other Bihár rebels." To these might be added, Mulla Muhammad Yazdí; the second of these three was imprisoned for life, the first and second were put into a boat which "foundered" in the Jamnah. Badáoní gives a detailed account of this "foundering," making it out a murder by Akbar's order and a consequence of the issue of the Mulla's *Fatwa*. He names others who were sent into "the closet of annihilation" (Lowe 285.) Trs.

army under the Khán i A'zam and Tarson Khán. The main work of the reconquest of Bengal was fully effected by Mírzá 'Azíz in 1583, but skirmishes in the jungles went on through the three following years and 1586 marks the termination of the pacification of Bengal.

994 H.

CHAPTER II.

The Rebellion of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím in Kábul.

Although owing his powerful and independent position, as Viceroy of Kábul, to his brother's favour, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím had entered into alliance with the malcontents of Bengal and we have seen that the discovery of this conspiracy led to the death of his agent, Roshan Beg and gave signal for revolt to the Qáqshâls.

* * * * * * * * * *

*It is not clear that Muhammad Hakím's schemes went so far as to the dethronement of Akbar; it is rather probable that he wished to make the general confusion subserve the erection of Kábul into an independent kingdom and this supposition best explains Akbar's attitude when he remained in his palace and busied himself there with preparations against the north-east. In Bengal there was question for him of supremacy and lands; in Kábul, not of these only, but also of a brother. There were not wanting voices accusing Muhammad Hakím of disloyalty. "A child "brought to condign punishment" said the emperor, "might be easily replaced, but a brother once lost can "never be regained."† He had attempted with Mu-

* Dr. v. Buchwald having mistaken the respective years of birth of Akbar (949 H.) and Mu. Hakím (961 H.) excision has been necessary at this point. Trs.

† Chalmers II, 262.

hammad Hakím the course which had transformed a refractory vassal into a Khán i A'zam and a faithful friend, for he had offered his brother the chief command in the army which was about to operate in Bengal against the rebels. In this instance, however, the seed of his magnanimity fell on bad ground for Mu. Hakím was dreaming of a kingdom in Kábul which should be aggrandized by the land of the Five Rivers.

989 H.

In the autumn of 1581, his ambitious design was matured and, somewhere about the end of September, he carried it into action, by despatching Hájí Núruddín to excite disturbances in the lands of the Indus. The governor of the Panjáb, Mírzá Yúsuf Khán, sent a few troops under Husain Beg and Sa'íd Khán Gakk'har to oppose him and although the enemy hoped to defer the engagement till they had collected a large force, a battle was brought about and the foe defeated.* The imperialists had been about to pitch their camp when a herd of deer came bounding on towards Husain Beg and his party. Excited at the prospect, he set spurs to his horse and rode after them. The deer had, however, already found a huntsman and he, no other than the Kábulí general, Hájí Núruddín. The hostile sportmen came face to face and each may have thought the other nobler game than the swiftest stag of the wilds. Forth flamed the lust of battle, they rushed together; their followers struck in and the hunting issued in a hot affray. Husain Beg put his adversary to flight and Hájí Núruddín before long found bloody death at Pasháwar.

* Chalmers III, 262. Trs.

Âbul Fazl* tells us that Mírzá Yúsuf was not considered to have managed his province well and that he was therefore superseded at this juncture by Kuṉwar Mán Singh† who, coming from Siálkoṭ to assume the government of the Panjáb, without loss of time sent on Zainuddín 'Alí to his new command. On news of Hájí Núruddín's discomfiture, Shádmán, the "sword of Hakım's army"‡ crossed the Indus and moved towards Nilab. He was anticipated by Zainuddín 'Alí who threw himself into the fort of Nilab and there maintained himself until Mán Singh came up with his main force. On 9th November, a battle was fought in which Shádmán was defeated and fell.

26th Azar 989.

Akbar heard the news of the success of his arms with thankfulness, but he divined that Mu. Hakím might now himself assume command of the revolt and that it was time for him to go in person to the Panjáb. He sent forward Rái Rái Singh and other amírs, with orders that they should prevent the Mírzá from crossing the Indus; but avoid a battle until such time as he should himself arrive. His expectations were realized for, even so early as 10th December, news reached him that Mu. Hakím was moving down towards Aṭak.

27th Deh 989.

Akbar had intended to leave Prince Salím as his representative in Fathpúr Síkrí, but the boy begged so urgently to accompany his father and was so strongly supported in his petition by Maryam Makání, his grandmother, that Akbar could not refuse and the

* Chalmers II, 263. Trs. † Blochmann, 340. Trs. ‡ Chalmers II, 263.

little Dányál was left behind in his stead—as a matter of course not without prudent counsellors.

On 28th December, says Abul Fazl, Akbar marched out at an hour approved by the astrologers, in martial splendour and followed by good fortune. "The armies of Thursday and Friday were under his immediate command, those of Saturday and Wednesday in the left wing, those of Monday and Tuesday in the right, that of Sunday in the van." It is not certain whether Abul Fazl here records the various days of the march out or speaks the language of astrology.*

18th Bahman.

On Monday, 6th February 1581, the emperor marched through Dihlí and on the 12th, halted on the other side of Thánes-war, where an event occurred concerning the date and place of which the authorities differ widely. At whatever stage of the march it may have happened, Nizámuddín's account of it has an appearance of intrinsic probability. He shall speak for himself. "When Kunwar Mán Singh defeated Shádmán, he "obtained from Shádmán's portfolio three letters from "Mírzá Muhammad Hakím; one to Hakím-ul-Mulk, "one to Khwájah Sháh Mançúr and one to Mu. Qá-"sim Khán Mír-bahr:† all in answer to letters of "invitation and encouragement. Kunwar Mán Singh "sent these letters to the emperor, who ascertained "their contents but kept the fact concealed." "On

2nd Muharram 989.

* Reference to the *aíns* on military matters (Blochmann, Part I) will throw suggestive light on this classification. Trs.

† "Custom or harbour master." (Wilson).

"the emperor's reaching Pánípat, Malik Sámi Kábulí, "díwán of Mírzá Mu. Hakím and who had the title "of Wazír Khán, deserted the Mírzá and came to the "imperial camp. He alighted at the tent of Khwá-"jah Sháh Mançúr and made him the channel for of-"fering his services to the emperor. When Khwájah "Sháh Mançúr announced his arrival, the emperor's "suspicions were aroused and he thought that the dí-"wan's arriving at the time when his master was in-"vading Hindústán must have some policy in it. He "was already suspicious of Mançúr and his doubts "were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mançúr and "showed him the Mírzá's letters. Mançúr asseverat-"ed (his innocence), but it was of no use. The em-"peror proceeded to Sháhábád and Malik 'Alí brought "him a letter to the following effect: 'When my "'scouts were coming from the ford of Lúdhiánah "'which is under my charge and reached the sarai "'(rest house) of Sirhind, they found a footman with "'swollen feet. This footman said to them "I belong "'to Sharaf Beg, the servant of the Khwájah Sháh "'Mançúr. He is the Khwájah's shikkdar (collector) "'in his jágír of Fírúzpúr, thirty kos from Láhor. "'These letters are to be delivered to the Khwájah; "'as my feet are in a bad state, do you convey the "'letters quickly to him. These letters my men have "'brought to me.' When the Secretary opened them, "one was a letter from Sharaf Beg to Khwájah Sháh "Mançúr, about the affairs of Fírúzpúr, and the other "was a letter from one person to another person and "of the following purport: 'I met Farídún Khán,

" 'and he carried me to wait on upon Mu. Hakím Bad-
" 'sháh. Although he had sent his revenue collectors
" 'into all the parganas of this quarter, he has not sent
" 'any to ours, but has held us exempt.' On hearing
" and considering these letters, it appeared to his Ma-
" jesty that Sharaf Beg had written one of them to
" Khwájah Mançúr and that the other was certainly
" connected with the coming of Mírzá Mu. Hakím's
" díwán, Malik Sání, to Khwájah Mançúr."

Granting the genuineness of these documents, an impartial consideration of them will indisputably lead to Akbar's conclusion, for from them, Mançúr's guilt is clear. It is conceivable that the emperor's mind should have become clouded and his temper morose as one after another of those on whom he had lavished favours and the gifts of fortune fell away from him. "His temperament" says the subtle Jesuit psychologist "is naturally melancholy. He is rarely irritated, "but, when he is so, it is in a high degree; he, how-"ever, allows himself to be quickly mollified, for his "disposition is mild." This act of treason in his nearest circle must have aroused violent anger. There was no time to let it evaporate, for all the authorities are agreed that Mançúr's treachery was discovered on the march when prompt decision and action were imperative. No voices were raised in intercession, indeed Nizámuddín knows to the contrary. "Many of "the amírs and officers of State were on bad terms "with the Khwájah and these exerted their influence "to secure his death. So the emperor gave the order "for his execution and he was hanged next morning."

The simple exposition of the matter from the facts and the psychological one from the state of the emperor's mind induce the same conclusion, that the emperor acted as every other man would have acted under similar conditions. Following the matter back, one reaches a point at which Akbar must have become convinced of Mançúr's guilt. As has been said, it was the example set by Mançúr to Muzaffar of rigour and inconsiderateness in reform which excited the first revolt; it was Mançúr's harsh letter which drove Ma'çúm Farankhúdí over to the rebels: must it not have seemed to Akbar that Mançúr, by a subtle and artfully planned intrigue, deliberately urged the jágírdárs into the ranks of the enemy? Yet straightforward fidelity animated Mançúr to his latest breath. Yet Akbar unwittingly perpetrated a judicial murder. The words, simple and of soldierly directness, in which Nizámuddín records his sovereign's error and repentance fall tranquilly enough upon the ear. "When the emperor was waited upon at Kábul by "the confidential servants of Mírzá Muhammad Ha-"kím, he made inquiry into the case of Khwájah "Sháh Mançúr and it appeared that Karamullah, bro-"ther of Shahbáz, had colluded with others to con-"coct letters and that he had forged the last letter "on the evidence of which Khwájah Mançúr was "executed. After this was discovered, the emperor "often regretted the execution of Mançúr."

But before the dawn of Akbar's day of repentance, the sun rose on many of stirring martial life. Even through these, his anxiety as to the administration of

his empire, was in no way repressed. The unhappy Mançúr's office of Wazír, in which he had been re-instated after a brief deposition, in the 25th year, was conferred on Qulij Khán with whom were associated Hakím A'bul Fath and Zain Khán Kokah, the latter the son of Píchah Ján Anagah, one of Akbar's nurses.

The new officials began their work even on the march and framed a decree somewhere between Sirhind (19th January 1582) and Máthíwárah (23rd January) which shows that plans of reform were present in Akbar's mind, even in camp. This decree must have had special interest for the departments of police and statistics, as it enjoined all jágírdárs, heads of districts and darogahs to draw up lists of the inhabitants with specifications as to names and occupations. No person was to be allowed to remain who could not give proof of following some trade or occupation, while the strictest inquiry was to be made into the character of all who might arrive or depart. To frame a law is, however, not to secure its execution and the circumstances of 1582 can hardly have allowed this particular decree to be completely carried out. It however shows the high range of the emperor's ideas, for that it was he who stood behind the ordinance is testified by an injunction that all the documents of the census should be compiled into one volume—manifestly for himself.* He investigated everything and the Goanese Jesuit tells us: "He can neither read nor write "but is extremely eager after knowledge and has al-

24th Isfandarmaz 989.
28th Isfandarmaz.

* Chalmers II, 269.

"ways learned men about him whom he invites to "discuss or narrate one thing or another. While he "halts in any place no person may be put to death "without his permission. He also has all the facts "of important civil suits communicated to him." Matters of all kinds passed through his hands and he contrived time for everything. The Jesuit chronicler passes over those things briefly, but he is nevertheless apprised of a highly entertaining incident of the census of occupation. Its date can be fixed almost to the day, by his mention of the river Bahat which Akbar crossed on 6th March. The story is recorded by the Father as evidence of the emperor's gentle temper and its point is given by the decree which assured immunity to all who gave proof of having a fixed occupation.

10th Ardibihisht.

"When Akbar was once on the Bahat, twelve de-"serters were brought before him. After having "heard the case, in person, he condemned some to "death by the sword and others to imprisonment. "Amongst the first was one who asked to be allowed "to speak. This being permitted, he begged that he "might not be killed for that he had attained a rare "facility in one of the arts. To the king's question "as to which art, he replied, 'Sire, I sing better than "'any one.' 'Then sing' said the king. The poor "devil began to sing so wretchedly that the king al-"most laughed. On this the prisoner remarked "For-"give me, Sire, to-day I am very hoarse and cannot "sing.' This remark pleased the king so well that "he not only forgave but also altered his orders so

"that none of these deserters were put to death, but "were to be kept in confinement until he should order "an examination of their offence."*

Without dwelling on other matters, such as the construction of a garden and summer dwelling at Nandra, these three episodes testify that Akbar's many sided activity was in no way checked by his march, for during their progress, he was advancing rapidly towards Láhor.

It seems that Muhammad Hakím arrived before Láhor on the very day on which Akbar set forth from Fathpúr Síkrí. Bhagwán Dás and Mán Singh had, however, got the start of him and, together with the nobles of the Panjáb, were occupying the fort. They held themselves on the alert during twenty days, at the expiration of which, the Mírzá ventured an attack which was repulsed with brilliant success. It was perhaps less this disaster than news of the emperor's approach which induced Muhammad Hakím to retire and withdraw to Kábul. At the royal festivities in Láhor there was wanting of the loyal leaders of the Panjáb forces only Mír Yúsuf 'Ali who was holding New Rohtás for his sovereign.

Khurdád.

Cheered on his way by good tidings from the eastern field of war, Akbar reached the Indus in May, and caused the fort of Aṭak Banáras to be commenced in order to secure the Panjáb from attack on the side of Kábulístán. The transit

* This anecdote should prove to the French savant who lately asserted that he found true humour only in Bábar that, notwithstanding his melancholy temperament, Akbar possessed this priceless gift as fully as his grandfather had done.

of the river was delayed by want of boats but, at the end of the month, Mán Singh contrived to cross his van, when he entered the Pasháwar district and joined the loyal commandant of the fort of Bigrám (Pasháwar). He was followed by Qulij Khán, Rái Rái Singh, Mírzá Yúsuf and other amírs under the nominal command of Prince Murád.* At this time, envoys came to implore pardon for Muhammad Hakím and in reply, Akbar sent Hájí Habíb 'Ulá Khán to Kábul in their company to tell the Mírzá that he was prepared to pardon on "condition that his brother "repented of the past, would bind himself by oath "(for the future) and would send his sister to the im-"perial court." Notwithstanding these negociations, the emperor pursued his march—crossing the Indus in July—and Prince Murád pushed on through the Khaibar. Before leaving the Indus, Nizámuddín was sent on ahead to ascertain from the amírs of the van whether they could get to Kábul without Akbar's aid or whether they needed his presence; by what route it was best for him to march, and whether he should come with his whole army or travel express. Nizámuddín Ahmad says, "In one night and a day I "reached Jalálábád, a distance of 150 miles, and deli-"vered my message to the prince." It may safely be concluded that the van had established stages for changing horses, and it must be admitted that this ride was a good piece of work. We shall meet this stanch horseman again in Gujrát.

* A verbal error in Chalmers has misled Dr. v. Buchwald into saying Salím. It is here corrected through reference to the Persian. Trs.

Although assured by Hájí Habíb 'Ulá that Muhammad Hakím was sincerely repentant, had taken oaths and would willingly have sent his sister to court, if her husband had not carried her off to Badakhshán, the commanders in Murád's army resolved to push on.

On the day following that on which he had received information from Nizámuddín and Habíb 'Ulá concerning Muhammad Hakím's submission, Akbar entered Pasháwar. Here he left Prince Salím, under charge of Bhagwán Dás and with orders to follow him slowly from station to station, while he himself moved rapidly to Kábul, leaving behind him each day some forty miles. It was worth while now for him to put his own hand to his sword for he knew that his brother would gladly return to the path of duty, if free to do so and, if Akbar entered on the scene with a force strong enough to command respect, there was hope that the campaign might end without a serious engagement. Quickly as he marched, he yet came a day too late; Murád's army had advanced to within 14 miles of Kábul, when Muhammad Hakím moved out to the village of Khurd-Kábul. On the previous night moreover his uncle, Farídún, had attacked Murád in the rear and taken considerable booty. Now the Mírzá fell on the imperialists from Khurd-Kábul and was utterly defeated so that his adversaries were able to enter Kábul in triumph.

Just after Farídún had made his attack on Murád's camp, Hájí Mu. Ahadí, a courier who preceded the emperor, arrived in it. He at once returned to Akbar, to Surkháb, and created no small chagrin by his news of

Murád's discomfiture. On the next day Akbar advanced and on 31st July, after receiving intelligence of Muhammad Hakím's defeat, he entered Kábul. Here he was told that his brother contemplated the abandonment of his country and taking refuge as a mendicant in Túrán. The emperor thought it beneath the dignity of his family that his brother should live by the favour of strangers and moreover foresaw that, if Muhammad Hakím went to the Uzbaks, their chief, 'Abdullah Khán, would hardly let slip such a chance of annoyance to himself. He therefore sent a friendly message to his brother in Ghorband by Latíf Khwájah. In presence of Latíf, the Mírzá renewed his oath of fidelity, executed an engagement and despatched it along with Latíf Khwájah by 'Alí Muhammad Asp to the emperor.* He, however, entreated that time might be given him in which to recover himself before he should appear before his offended sovereign.† Akbar received this petition with the utmost disfavour and commanded some of his servants to go quickly and teach the Mírzá to tread more diligently the path of obedience, which, translated from the language of Abul Fazl into plain prose, means that a warrant for arrest was given. 'Alí Mu. Asp, however, an old servant of the Crown, succeeded, so says Abul Fazl, in achieving for Muhammad Hakím a renewal of the fief of Kábulístán while the emperor so far effaced himself, as to dispense with the personal humiliation of his brother whom he quitted Kábul without seeing.

20th Sharíur.

* Elliot V, 425.

† Chalmers II, 276.

Possibly the royal clemency was less the result of 'Alí's persuasive power than of the discovery made in Kábul of the falsity of the evidence on which Sháh Mançúr had been put to death. Akbar quitted Kábul accompanied only by Maçqús Khán, Shaikh Jamál and Abul Fazl. In the evening, he halted for a short rest at Tarik ab and recommenced his march by torchlight. He arrived in Jalálábád at noon of the following day and was welcomed by Prince Salím.* Hither came one of the Mírzá's grandees, Khawájagí Muhammad Husain, with proffers of service and was received into favour. From Jalálábád, Akbar continued his homeward route and crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats which, in spite of tempestuous weather, Qásim Khán contrived to throw across and "over which the merry and crowded ranks passed in joyful troops."† Shortly after the passage had been effected, Rájah Todar Mall joined the army. He had been summoned from Bihár where he had almost suppressed the revolt to take up the Wazírat (Prime Ministry). The emperor's activity manifested itself even on the march; he divided the work of supervision of pensions and pious foundations which had before been done by one man and, by making a separate appointment for each province, initiated a stricter control.

When he at length reached Fathpúr Síkrí he entered it through a *via triumphalis* of "nobles and "elephants and was greeted by troops of dancers and "moved to the sound of the martial drum."‡ On the evening of his arrival, he passed sentence of death on

* Chalmers II, 277. Trs. † Chalmers II, 277. ‡ Chalmers II, 278. Trs.

Bahádur, son of Sa'íd Badakhshí, a rebel whom the troopers of 'Azíz had captured and took into favour another, Haidar, who had made voluntary submission.

At Pánípat, on the homeward march, Shahbáz Khán had joined Akbar and thence accompanied him to Fathpúr Síkrí. He now, as was usual with him, contrived to make himself so objectionable by his pride that he was placed under arrest. Above all others, Khán i A'zam found friendliest welcome who brought news of the state of Bengal but his stay at court was of the briefest, for, hardly had he turned his back on his province, than revolt flamed anew, certainly not high enough to endanger Akbar's supremacy, but sufficiently so to find work for Shahbáz for many months on his release.

Orísá was still independent of the empire and from it, the rebels drew support and in it, found refuge and hiding. Not that lurking places failed them in the lands of their former settlement; south Bihár is broken up by hills, in many parts of Bengal there were stretches of forest and the rivers only, and they not throughout the year, afforded means of communication, for of proper roads there were none until the end of the present reign. If these facts are not borne in mind many events will appear inexplicable and this especially during Akbar's contests with his rebellious vassals.

At the close of 1582, although Bengal was not completely pacified, the danger of a religious war had been averted and Muhammad

991 H.

Hakím's rebellion crushed; Akbar's throne was assured while plans of reform were laid down. The burning question of the time was whether the empire could hold together or must lose Gujrát. Before setting to the solution of this problem, Akbar voyaged in festive procession, down stream, to where the Jamnah oins the Ganges and there at Piyág and at a propitious moment, founded a fort to which he gave the name of Iláhábád* and which was to guard the Ganges at this important point as that at Aṭak Banáras, the Indus. When the waves of rebellion had lulled, many townsfolk settled under shelter of its walls and the great modern city of Alláhábád remains to posterity a monument of Akbar.

* Chalmers II, 307.

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CHAPTER III.

Overthrow and Death of the Pretender of Gujrát.

The struggle on which Akbar is now about to enter differs from those recently described. It is no revolution, though revolutionary vassals took part in it; no Fronde, such as was the revolt in Bengal; it was, in spite of the fact that many of Akbar's antagonists were urged by the barest self interest, a legitimist war such as was fought out in the last century at Culloden. Although the heart kindles easily in such a cause, Muzaffar Sháh Gujrátí should stir in posterity even less sympathy than does Charles Edward.

Gujrát had been governed by independent kings
697 H. from time immemorial down to about 1297, at which date it was incorporated with the Dihlí empire.* It recovered its freedom in the 15th century and, until the reign of Humáyún, was ruled by its own princes who were now Muhammadans. In 1534, it was occupied by Humá-
941 H. yún for one year and again in 1555; Ak-
962 H.
980 H. bar renewed his father's conquest with stronger hand and more lasting supremacy in 1572. But love of independence survived all changes and, whether clinging to their earlier faith or converts to Islám, the people were always ready to draw the sword in the cause of a hereditary claimant to the

* Bird 160, 161 *n*. Trs.

throne. Any popular rising was favoured by the geographical isolation of the peninsula of Surashtra (Kát'híwár) which is connected with the mainland only by the neck of land which lies between the mouth of the Sábarmatí and the south-east corner of the Ran of Kachh. Full of mountains, forests and warlike men, this ocean-girdled tract was a fortress from which sally was easy and in which it was facile to recruit a vanquished army. The mainland of the kingdom and that round which turned the earlier portion of the war about to be described, is more open.

Gujrát is bounded on the N. by Rájpútáná, on the E. by the spurs of the Vindhya and Sátpurá ranges; on the S. by the Konkán and on the W. by the sea. It contains the lower basins of the Mahindrí, the Narbadah and the Taptí. It is in harmony with the geographical features of the country that a revolt of its people should begin in the recesses of Kát'híwár and spread thence into the Sábarmatí tract in which stood its capital, Ahmadábád, and that Akbar's opposition to revolt should advance, first, from Dihlí through Ajmír into the Sábarmatí valley and secondly, through Málwah, into the basins of the westering rivers.

Whether the man who now, in 1581, raised the
989 H. standard of revolt against the emperor, was the legitimate heir to the throne of Gujrát is doubtful. In the period preceding Akbar's
980-1 H. conquest of the country in 1572-3, the country was enmeshed in dissolute intrigue and it is not improbable that, as Abul Fazl asserts, Muzaffar was a supposititious child. Of this,

Nizámuddín knows nothing but describes him as the son of Sultán Mahmúd.* So much is sure; he had ruled Gujrát for nearly 12 years before Akbar's conquest in 1572, and was accounted their king by its people. That he was found in 1572, by

980 H.

Akbar's men in a corn field, hidden and helpless, has been already told. The old Chagatáï custom would have made his captor strike off his head but, even as a boy, Akbar had shrunk from such treatment of a vanquished foe and Bairám Khán had done, on Hemú, last homage to this institution of the days of Akbar's forbears. In the case of Muzaffar Gujrátí, a timely sword cut would have obviated much later bloodshed, but who could foresee that the corn field king who drew from Akbar, at most, a compassionate smile, would mature, in a few years, into a man of such formidable proportions. After his capture, he was given into the charge of Karam 'Alí darogah and, later on, of Mun'im Khán (with whom he was in Bengal) and of Sháh Mançúr.† Badáoní states that the emperor made him a monthly allowance of 30 or 40 rupís.‡ In 1578, he contrived to evade

986 H.

surveillance and took refuge with the Ká-t'hís of Júnágarh "little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers."§

* Elliot V, 342. Trs.

† Bird 308. Lowe 145.

‡ Lowe 339 and 365. Trs.

§ Blochmann 334. Abul Fazl. Bib. Ind. III, 409 ff. Mirát Ahmadí (Bird) 308 and 352. Elliot V. 353 has, apparently, an error in his gloss of "late King of Gujrát" to the name of Muzaffar Khán. The use of the title *Khán* where, had the person designated been Muzaffar Gujrátí, *Sháh* would have

In 1583, there were a number of disaffected chiefs with Shihábuddín Ahmad Khán, the then
991 H.
governor in Ahmadábád, of whom the Mirát Ahmadí says that they had once been followers of the Mírzás, but that, after the overthrow of these, they had served whatever person held the government of the province. Shihábuddín had been ordered to expel them, but when Akbar marched for Kábul against Muhammad Hakím, Shiháb, presumably to avoid possible additional fighting, had thought expulsion inadvisable and had tried the policy of favor and employment. Of their loyalty the Goanese chronicler speaks most unfavourably.

Shihábuddín Ahmad had filled the office of governor of Gujrát since 1577, contriving thus
985 H.
to maintain his difficult position for five years. He was a kinsman of Máhum Anagah of evil memory and a sayyid of Níshápúr in Khurásán. The forts of Broach and Barodah were in the charge of Quṭbuddín Khán, the youngest brother of Shamsuddín Muhammad Atgah whom Adham had murdered.* Quṭbuddín was a man who, spite of his strict Sunní opinions, stood high in his master's favour. He belonged to the Atgah Khail (the "foster father batta-

been expected, suggests error. The jágír of Sárangpúr was Turbatí's (Blochmann 349. Badáoní, (Lowe 153 and 174) Briggs II, 254 says that Muzaffar gained so much on the Emperor's favour as to procure him a handsome estate and Elphinstone (446) substantially repeats the statement. The "handsome estate" is, however, a gloss by Briggs, for Firishtah simply says that Muzaffar was received into favour and served some years. (Lak'hnau Edition 264.) Moreover Briggs himself contradicts his own statement, IV, 165. Trs.).

* Blochmann 321 and 333.

lion") and had built several mosques in Láhor, a former fief of his family: he was a commander of Five Thousand and had received special marks of the emperor's good will.* Badáoní records, in

987 H. 1579, the following illustrative incident, in which Quṭbuddin was an actor. Akbar "tried "hard to convert him and Shahbáz Khán and several "others (to the new faith). But they staunchly ob-"jected. Quṭbuddín said, "What would the kings of "the West, such as the Sultán of Constantinople, say "if he heard all this. Our faith is the same whether "a man hold high or broad views. His Majesty then "asked him if he was in India (he was a farmer's "son of Ghazní) on a secret mission from Constanti-"nople as he shewed so much opposition or if he "wished to keep a small place warm there for himself, "if he should go away from India and be a respecta-"ble man there;—he might go at once. Shahbáz got "excited and took a part in the conversation; and "when Bír Baṛ, that hellish dog, made a sneering re-"mark at our religion, Shahbáz abused him roundly "and said, 'You cursed infidel, do you talk in this "'manner? It would not take me long to settle you.' "It got quite uncomfortable, when His Majesty said "to Shahbáz in particular and to the others in general, "'Would that a shoe-full of filth were thrown into "'your mouths.'"†

Du Jarric describes Quṭbuddín as "Cutabdican "general of Baronch" and Shihábuddín, by a per-

* Blochmann 333. Trs.

† Blochmann 188. Trs.

version of his colloquial name of Shiháb Khán, as "Exasbquan of Amadaba" (Ahmadábád) and says of them that they were, both by their nationality* and by the strength of their troops, their own boldness and experience, men of great influence. He goes on to say that although they have not openly declared war against the king (*i. e.*, Akbar) it is considered certain that they await any good opportunity to rise and join Amighan (Muzaffar is meant.)† Although this opinion was shown by the course of events to be mainly empty rumour, yet the evidence that such rumour found credence in well-informed circles;—and as being in these we may rightly reckon the Jesuit—is of extreme value in face of the silence of Nizámuddín and Abul Fazl. It may
991 H. explain why Akbar, in 1583, transferred the government of Gujrát to a highly unpopular man, I'timád Khán.‡

Before Akbar first conquered Gujrát, he had held out expectations to I'timád Khán, who had played so great a part in its history, as king maker, of becoming its governor when it should be reduced.
985 H. I'timad had pressed these claims in 1577,

* Du Jarric, as quoted by Dr. v. Buchwald, does not appear to have been accurately informed about Quṭbuddín and Shiháb. In Gujrát, where the immense majority of the people were Hindú Rájpúts, would the nationality of an Afghán and of a Khurásání Musulman give them influence? Trs.

† More probably Amín Khán Ghorí of Sorat'h. Elliot 483. Trs.

‡ I'timád Khán was born a Hindú but early became a convent to Islám. He bore his title of I'timád 43 years, his earlier Musulman name having been 'Abdul Karím. (Mirát i Sikandarí, E. C. Bayley, 437.) He is not, as Blochmann warns us (385), to be confused with I'timád Khwájahsará (428.) Trs.

at the time of Shihábuddín Ahmad's appointment and now, at the end of 1583, on his return
991 H.
from Makkah, he again urged them—this time with success. With lucid brevity, Nizámuddín gives as reasons for his appointment that, as he had already filled the office, he knew best how to promote the prosperity of the province and that his confirmation in it would excite the emulation of others.* Badáoní says that the appointment was made in order to gratify the feelings of the chiefs of the Dak'hin (Gujrát.) * * * * * The emperor might count on energetic service from I'timád in putting down Muzaffar Sháh for, legitimate or not, Muzaffar had been brought forward by 'Itimád and in either case, was so far his creature that on the death of Ahmad Sháh II,† he had been raised by I'timád, as a child, to the throne, at the time when, in the dwindling days of Gujrátí independence, I'timád had wished to assure the regency to himself. Since I'timád, in 1572, had wheeled round and
980 H.
had sworn fealty to Akbar, nothing could be more averse from his wishes than that the creature of his own hands should play his old game, independently of himself. As the emperor had overthrown Rajpúts by Rájpúts, rebellious vassals in Bengal by the once rebellious vassal, 'Azíz Kokah, so in Gujrát and by I'timád's appointment, he practised the principle that political converts make bitterest adversaries of former comrades.

In the new ministry of Gujrát, there served, under

* Elliot V, 428. Trs. † Elphinstone 672. Trs.

I'timád, as Judge, Finance Minister and Commander-in-Chief respectively, Mír Abú Turáb, a man of Persian origin, Khwájah Abul Qásim, a native of Tabriz and brother of Akbar's tutor, 'Abdul Qádir Ákhúnd and Nizámuddín Ahmad, the author of the Ṭabaqát i Akbarí. Down to the subsequent time when Mírzá 'Abdurrahím arrived in Gujrát to supersede I'timád, Nizámuddín was the moving spirit amongst the imperialists. His descriptions of this period, in the Ṭabaqát, are so many staff reports and are as distinguished by clearness and practicability as by that modesty which won for their brave author the regard of Abul Fazl, as his simple piety won for him, what might hardly be thought a possibility, the sincere affection of the acrid Badáoní.

In gathering this group of orthodox Sunnís into the ministry of Gujrát, Akbar had a manifest end in view, for the great majority of Gujrátís clung to their ancestral Híndú faith. Abú Turáb had given proof of loyalty in the first campaign in Gujrát and was not without influence over I'timád, for he it was who in those days, had restrained him from joining the rebel Ikhtiyár ul Mulk, after Akbar's departure for Kambay. In 1582, and shortly before
990 H. despatching Abú Turáb to Gujrát, Akbar acted in a manner of which, as Blochmann says, it is difficult to see the motive but which must have won for him the hearts of the orthodox. Mír Abú had been to Makkah as Chief of the Pilgrims and thither too had gone I'timád, under his charge. On their return, they brought with them a stone which was

said to bear the impression of the foot of the Prophet. It was so large that it had to be transported on an elephant. Akbar himself went out eight miles to meet it, received it with every mark of honour and ordered the amírs to carry it by turns on their shoulders, into the city of Fathpúr Síkrí. This exhibition was after the hearts of the Faithful to whom by it, Akbar wished to show that, while worshipping God after his own fashion, he honoured the creed of his fathers.

I'timád marched to join his new command by way of Jálor and was there joined by Nizámuddín Ahmad, Mír Ma'çúm Bhakkarí,—a learned Sayyid and author and a friend of Nizámuddín,—Zainuddín Kambú, a brother of Shahbáz Khán, and Pahlawan 'Alí Sístání who was appointed commandant of Ahmadábád and head of the police (kotwál) while Mu. Husain Shaikh and several jágírdárs of Gujrát remained behind. Proceeding from Jálor to Sarohí, I'timád accomplished, in the latter town, his first commission, for the expenses of which Nizámuddín had received 1000 gold muhrs. The country of Sarohí was taken from its occupant, Sultán Deodah, and given to Jagmál, a brother of theRáná of Údaipúr* and an adherent of the imperial throne. The fort of Sarohí appears to have had considerable strategic importance, both as covering retreat and as enabling communication to be

* Elliot V, 430 appears to have a mistranslation by which Jagmál is called brother of Sultán Deodah whom he dispossessed. "Baradarana" I am advised, seems to have been read for "baradar-i-ráná." See too Elliot V, 355. Trs.

maintained with the north. I'timád therefore left in it, with Jagmál, four chiefs of whom two were Híndús and two Musalmans.

The new governor proceeded on his way to his capital, sending on before him to Shihábuddín, the horse and honorary dress which accompanied the royal order.* The keys of the town were made over to I'timád's agent; Shiháb marched out to the suburb of 'Usmánpúr, and I'timád entered the city.

12th Shabán 991 H.

This last incident occurred on the 21st August 1583 and by the 23rd, the difficulties of the position made themselves felt. It was announced to I'timád that a large number of the former followers of Shihábuddín had deserted him, in disgust at their supersession and removal, and had started to invite Muzaffar Sháh to head a revolt, Muzaffar being at the time in Surashtra (Kat'híwár), with his mother's kinsfolk. This intelligence seemed threatening and I'timád thought it desirable to have a conference with Shihábuddín who had, during his tenure of office, contrived to hold the malcontents in check. Abú Turáb and Nizámuddín accordingly went to Shihábuddín who advised either that concessions should be made, by giving to the dispossessed amírs their former jágírs or that they should be attacked with vigour before they should be under the command of any man of note. I'timád then asked Shihábuddín to return to Ahmadábád but Shiháb excused himself, on the ground that he had already expended much

* Presumably to make over charge to I'timád. Trs.

money on account of the journey and because his people were distressed and disgusted at having had to leave the city with their families. Nizámuddín says that Shihábuddín told him that the deserters had had a design against his own life (Shiháb's) and that they had longed planned revolt, and that now that their intentions were clear, they would get no more encouragement from him. Badáoní makes Shihábuddín say when asked to appease the commotion, that the matter had passed out of his power to pacify "as you and all the kingdom know."* I'timád took Shiháb's advice and sent envoys to try and settle matters with the discontented amírs but all overtures were rejected and the latter proceeded towards Kát'híwár. I'timád entered into further discussion with Shihábuddín as the Mirát Ahmadí says for the purpose of detaining him till reinforcements should arrive which were expected from the emperor. Several letters were addressed to Shiháb, urging him to delay his departure for a few days, but he went on his way to Karí, a town some 40 miles north of Ahmadábád.

27th Shabán. It was not until 5th September, and after news had reached Ahmadábád and, presumably, Shihábuddín also, of the advance of the rebels, with Muzaffar and some Kát'híwár people, to Dholqah (24 miles from Ahmadábád) that word was brought to I'timád of Shihábuddín's consenting to remain at Karí. Thereupon although "it had been "urged upon I'timád Khán that it was not right for

* Lowe 337, where, however, there appears an error in attributing the speech to I'timád. Elliot V, 430. Mirát Ahmadí, Bird. 360. Trs.

"the ruler of a city to leave it when the enemy "was at a distance of 24 miles" he set off for Karí with the object of inducing Shihábuddín to return to the capital with him. With him went Abú Turáb and Nizamuddín, the latter of whom modestly conceals the fact that it was he who had urged the weighty objection against the journey of the governor. To bring back Shiháb seemed to I'timád the one important thing and against this, the representations of Nizámuddín were of no avail. Sher Khán, the son of I'timád remained in charge of the city and with him Ma'çúm Bhakkarí and a son of Nizámuddín. The two imperial leaders in Karí came to an agreement by which Shihábuddín was to return with I'timád to the capital, on condition of receiving again his jágírs and a subsidy of two lakhs of rupís presumably an indemnification for the heavy expenses of removal of himself and his people of which he had earlier made complaint.§ Towards the close of the day, he set out with I'timád Khán; when half through their journey and at midnight, they were met by Sher Khán and others of the city garrison who brought the grievous news that on the very day on which the governor had quitted the town, Muzaffar had appeared before it; that the inhabitants had made common cause with him and that he had made his way into the fort by a breach in the wall. They "alighted," says Nizámuddín "and after consultation decided that as "the enemy had gained only one day, he had had no "time to strengthen himself and that we must get

* Bird 360. Trs.

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"into the city as he had done. So we went on to "the city and in the morning, arrived at 'Usmánpúr, "which is on the river side near the city. Muzaffar "Gujrátí came forth and drew up his forces on the "sandy bank of the river. Shihábuddín was quite "helpless, because his men were not trustworthy, and "many of them ran off. I did all I could with a "few men but without effect. My son, who had been "left in the city in charge of the fort, was plundered "of everything, Shihábuddín Khán and I'timád Khán "took to flight and went to Nahrwálah, better known "as Paṭan, 90 miles from Ahmadábád. I, the author, "wrote an account of the occurrences to the emperor." Such is Nizámuddín's account of the first brush with the Pretender.*

Two days later, Husain Shaikh and those other jágírdárs who had remained behind when I'timád was in Jálor, arrive at Paṭan with a force of 2000 men and set the fort in order, preparing to hold out. Muzaffar was now lord of the capital in which his father had reigned and while distributing honours and jágírs, busied himself in collecting troops. From Sorat'h (Kát'híwár),† there came to him a reinforcement of 200 ill-found horsemen under Sher Khán

* Shihábuddín, according to the Mirát Ahmadí, exerted himself bravely in *the encounter but his men deserted him down to 200 troops*; his horse was wounded and several of his kinsmen had fallen around him. Some of his friends seized his horse's reins and forced him from the field. I'timád however, is said to have held aloof with Abú Turáb and the Gujrátí troops and under presence of keeping possession of the ford at 'Usmánpúr to have looked only for an opportunity to fly. Bird 364. Trs.

† Confusion exists here and elsewhere in the German, between Sora'th and Surát. Trs.

Fúládí, a man who, in days gone by, had made for himself a terrible name. He had passed his recent years in "adversity" in Sorat'h and, having once been governor of Paṭan, was now hoping to recover his former position. Him, therefore with 4000 men, Muzaffar sent against Paṭan. At Karí, Fúládí detached a force against Chotánah, a town some 40 miles south of Paṭan. His advance had not been unmarked by the imperialists and his men found Nizámuddín in position. "I attacked them and defeated them "and left Mír Muhibbullah (son of Abú Turáb) and "a detachment of soldiers at that place" narrates Nizámuddín with the laconic brevity of his speech about himself. Fúládí himself then advanced to within 18 miles of Paṭan and was there defeated by troops sent out from that town under I'timád's son. Muzaffar's occupation of Ahmadábád had not entirely cut off the imperial communications with the south. Zainuddín Kambú, outflanking the capital, had gone to induce Quṭbuddín, the governor of Broach and Barodah, to attack Ahmadábád from the south. The conjoined forces of Quṭbuddín and Zainuddín advanced as far as Barodah, when the Pretender in great force attacked them.

Nizámuddín says—and such a expression falls heavily in the balance—that Quṭbuddín fought in an "unsoldierlike" way and was defeated and had to take refuge in Barodah.* Many of his officers and men joined Muzaffar. Fishing in these troubled

* Elliot V, 432. In the Lak'hnau edition of the Tabaqát this expression does not occur. Trs.

waters Sayyid Daulat whom the Mirát Ahmadí calls the servant of Kalyán Rái of Kambay, acting independently of Muzaffar, collected troops and seized Kambay, its commander and revenue collector (krorí), Khwájah Imámuddín Husain, being barely able to escape to Barodah carrying with him the treasure of the city, to the amount of 14 lakhs of rupís and leaving behind for the audacious rebel only one, in shape of 40 lakhs of dáms.

The garrison of Paṭan may have heard of this disaster; they certainly knew of the approach of Sher Khán Fúládí to Maisánah, a town thirty miles from their position, and terror worked so powerfully on them that they were, there and then, for setting forth for Jálor—a course which would have surrendered to Muzaffar the greater part of the mainland of Gujrát. At no time does the inaction of I'timád and, this time, of Shihábuddín also condemn itself more than when one sees how much one resolute man was able to save for his sovereign at this crisis. Nizámuddín, without a word of blame for his fellow officers of superior rank, says with his wonted brevity: "I "resolved at all hazards to fight and went to encoun- "ter Sher Khán. Shihábuddín Ahmad Khán and "I'timád Khán stopped in Paṭan, the other amírs "joined me. When we reached Maisánah, we found "that Sher Khán had drawn up his forces, and he "advanced to attack us with five thousand horse, "while we did not exceed two thousand." Quite as if it were a matter of course and absolutely ignoring how hot the fight was, he goes on, "Sher Khán was

"defeated, and went off to Ahmadábád. Many of his "men were killed, and a large booty fell into our "hands. I strenuously urged that we should advance "against Ahmadábád, but the amírs who were with "me would not agree."

Badáoní, who recognizes with warmth, that it was only Nizámuddín's influence which restrained I'timád and Shihábuddín from their proposed flight to Jálor remarks that, under the circumstances, the advance urged by Nizámuddín was right, for the news of Quṭbuddín's defeat had not yet arrived. In this opinion all will concur. Nizámuddín knew that the capital was almost denuded of Muzaffar's followers because these were operating against Quṭbuddín between the Mahindrí and Narbadah and he might take for granted that Fúládí's twice defeated troops would depress the ardour and temper of whatever garrison there might be in Ahmadábád and moreover that, to use the modern phrase, the prestige of the Pretender would be annihilated by the capture of the city.

Although unwilling to march straight on Ahmadábád, I'timád and Shiháb were persuaded by Nizámuddín to advance one step in its direction and came to Karí. Here they remained twelve days, waiting for soldiers who had been sent,—possibly with the hope that the sight of booty might breed self-confidence in the cravens of Paṭan,—to convey thither the spoils of Fúládí. Nizámuddín even commissioned officers to collect troops from the town. But when news came of the fall of Barodah, news which must have

destroyed all his hopes, he turned his back on Karí and retired to Paṭan.*

The fall of Barodah was an event of great importance and involved incidents which throw light on the character of Muzaffar and that of the rule he meditated for Gujrát. Up to this time, sympathy will have been with him rather than with the magnates of the imperial cause, for he was a man of bold resolution, such as was Akbar himself, and he came, as Akbar had come, with a band of trusty followers to regain his patrimony. When Quṭbuddín was defeated near Barodah, he had, as has been said, withdrawn into that fort. Here he was besieged and here, although, says the Mirát Ahmadí, Muzaffar's force amounted to 20,000 men, held out for 22 days, exerting himself to the utmost. He did not trust his men and results justified his distrust for two of them, Mu. Mírak and Chirkis i Rúmí, secretly advised Muzaffar to send, under pretence of concluding a peace, for themselves, together with Zainuddín Kambú, Sayyid Jalál Bhakkarí and Khwájah Yahyá, the agent of Naurang Khán: then, continued the traitors, if Muzaffar would put themselves (Mu. Mírak and Chirkis i Rúmí) with Khwájah Yayhá into prison and the other two (Zainuddín and Jalál) to death, he could attack the fort next day without meeting opposition from Quṭbuddín's troops. Muzaffar followed this advice; Quṭbuddín sent out the five men mentioned and Zainuddín Kambú was at once put to death. Sayyid

* It has seemed right to supplement the text here by some facts from the Mirát Ahmadí. Trs.

Jalál, at the intercession of Sayyid Ahmad Bhakkarí (presumably a kinsman) was spared. Muzaffar now closely surrounded the fort and Quṭbuddín, thinking himself quite deserted, shut himself up in the citadel. Next day, Muzaffar took an oath that he would not injure Quṭbuddín's person and, after making a compact to this effect, sent for him. Quṭbuddín, being reduced to extremities, accordingly went out to visit Muzaffar who received him with great respect and gave him a seat on his own *masnad*. Tarwárí, the zamíndár of Píplá, urged that the guest should be put to death, but to this Muzaffar did not cease to offer opposition. At length however, Tarwárí and those who thought with him, prevailed and Quṭbuddín was killed, together with his nephew.* Quṭbuddín's action in going out into the hostile camp is so incomprehensible that one must exclaim, with Nizámuddín, "Blinded by fate and demented."

History has here proposed a problem for solution and to it there are two possible answers.† Either

* Bird 368ff, Elliot V, 433, Badaoni II, 331, Lowe 341.

† In unravelling this problem, it must be remembered that Quṭbuddín was helpless even within the walls of the citadel; that he may have hoped with his treasure (which was not in Barodah but at Broach), to purchase safety; and that it is possible he was not aware of the death of Zainuddín and of Muzaffar's breach of faith. On the other side of the question—it must be said that money was the vital necessity of Muzaffar's operations, that the readiest way of obtaining Quṭbuddín's treasure was to make refusal impossible; and also, that it is probable the zamíndár of Rájpíplá, as a malcontent and near neighbour, had repressions to avenge. In justice to Quṭbuddín, it should be said that no suspicion of possible disloyalty is breathed by any authority of the period. He was faithful to the death and perhaps the impracticability of winning him over made his removal seem the rome desirable to those of less stanch loyalty to the empire. Trs.

Quṭbuddín, in complete misapprehension of the situation, considered that the favourable moment of which the Jesuit Father wrote a year before, had come and so found a traitor's meed: or the words of Nizámuddín and Badáoní must be taken literally and Quṭbuddín regarded as driven to his death by a gloomy fatalism. Europeans have often a false notion of oriental fatalism but the 16th and 17th centuries, the blossom time of astrology, were not destitute of examples in Europe herself, of similar occurrences as well amongst Christians as Jews. It is known that Quṭbuddín, a fanatical Sunní, was disposed to religious enthusiasm; he may have known that a deadly enemy, the zamíndár of Píplá, waited for him in the hostile camp; he must have known that no oath was sacred to Muzaffar and it may have been precisely this knowledge which impelled him—the beclouded Sunní who had outlived his martial glory—to go forth and let the will of Allah be fulfilled on him for life or death. In either case great infatuation is manifested—an infatuation which played into Muzaffar's hands not Barodah only but Broach* with all Quṭbuddín's possessions and treasure amounting to more than 1000 lakhs of rupís† and, in addition to this enormous sum, the 14 lakhs of rupís which Imámuddín Husain had saved from Kambay. Thus almost the whole of Gujrát fell into Muzaffar's power and he now raised his forces to nearly 30,000 men, Mughuls, Afgháns, Gujrátís and Rájpúts.

* Elliot V, 433. Trs.

† Elliot V, 434 says 10 krors possibly they were krors of dáms. Trs.

While the first act of the conflict inclined to a conclusion so favourable to Muzaffar, the second was preparing on the Ganges. It would seem that news of the Gujrátí insurrection reached the emperor just as he was setting out on the river journey which had the founding of Iláhábás for its object; he did not know at that time of the fall of Barodah and Broach and counted on Quṭbuddín's being able to maintain himself. On this supposition he drew up a plan of campaign which in spite of his ignorance of the death of Quṭbuddín proved excellent, if inadequate. This was to strengthen Quṭbuddín's position by an army formed of the levies of some of the Málwah amírs and those of Qulij Khán, the jágírdár of Súrat,* The forts and Quṭbuddín's army having been lost, this contingent was insufficient for the task of flanking the northern army, which had marched by Jálor to Paṭan under Mírzá 'Abdurrahím, the son of Bairám Khán-khánán, with whom were many men of note, such as Muhammad Páyandah Mughul, the leader of the van (haráwal). Nizámuddín lay in Paṭan during Mírzá 'Abdurrahím's advance and wrote him daily stimulants to speed. At length when the Mírzá had reached Sarohí, the impatient Mír Bakhshí could wait no longer, but threw himself into the saddle and in all haste, brought on the new Commander-in-Chief to Paṭan whence, after one day's halt for rest and counsel, they resumed the forward march.

The movements of the Málwah contingent would seem to have been somewhat more rapid, probably

* N. B. not Sora'th. Trs.

because there were troops gathered and equipped in Málwáh, to oppose the Dak'hin borderers. The army of the East advanced in two columns on the two sides of the Taptí.* Shortly after the expiration of Nizámuddín's twelve days' delay in Karí, the southern column had advanced to Nandarbar some 24 miles south of the Taptí—presumably to occupy Surát,—while the other stood at the same distance north from the Taptí, near a town, with the name of frequent recurrence—Sultánpúr—manifestly therefore to strengthen Broach. It follows, from this movement, that Qulij Khán acted on the supposition that Qutbuddín still held Barodah.

The drift of this plan clearly was to hold the tracts of the three rivers by means of the forts Surát, Broach and Barodah, until such time as Mírzá Khán should be on the lower Sábarmatí, when the combined southern forces should fall on Muzaffar's rear, between Ahmadábád and Kambay. This plan was, of necessity, changed when Qulij heard that Muzaffar was besieging Broach, presupposing, as this operation did the previous fall of Barodah and pointing to imperial losses. The Málwah levies felt themselves too weak to attack Muzaffar unassisted and could not, indeed, be certain that the army of the north had not suffered heavily. From this point of

* I can find no authority for the division of the force into two columns. Elliot (V, 434) makes it move "to Sultánpúr and Nandarbar" as he makes Muzaffar go later "to Rájpíplá and Nádot." Sultánpúr and Nandarbar were over 40 miles apart and the Taptí flows between. Moreover the country north of the Taptí was hostile and less practicable. It seems more probable that the force marched west to Sultánpúr and thence south to Nandarbar on its way to Surát. Tra.

view, it was right not to advance further, although to Nizámuddín who was ardent for fight, the delay seemed wrong and something like ill-temper breathes in his words. It was characteristic of him to hate what caused delay and delay was necessitated by the inaction of Qulij Khán. In Mírzá 'Abdurrahím, Nizámuddín had a man after his own heart and one who understood both him and the situation.

During the interval which the Mírzá spent in Paṭan, it was decided to leave I'timád and Shihábuddín in it and to advance on Ahmadábád. He accordingly moved to Sarkij, a town six miles outside the capital. Proof of the wisdom of the movement was now renewed: Ahmadábád was almost denuded of rebel troops and therefore on hearing of Mírzá Khán's approach, Muzaffar quitted Broach, leaving the fort in charge of the deserter Chirkis i Rúmí and Naçirá, his wife's brother, and came to a position near the tomb of Sháh Bhíkan some four miles outside the walls of Ahmadábád. Hereupon skirmishing began.

16th Muharram 991 H. On 30th Jan. Thursday, 1583, Muzaffar marshalled his troops and attacked the imperialists. Mírzá Khán* led the

* Mírzá Khán had only 10,000 troopers to oppose some 40,000 of Muzaffar's and some of his officers had urged him to delay the battle until the arrival of the army of the South under Qulij Khán and Málwah chiefs. With the Mírzá, however, there was a man named Daulat Khán Lodí, who had been transferred to his service from that of 'Azíz Kokah at a time when 'Abdurrahím married a daughter of the latter. In sending Daulat, an Afghán of well-known courage, to his son-in-law, 'Azíz had said "Take care of this man and you may get the title your father bore," *i. e.*, that of Khán-khánán. Daulat now helped to the fulfilment of this prophecy. He warned 'Abdurrahím not to spoil his laurels by waiting for partners in glory and thus lose his claim to the

centre,* having with him 100 elephants. The battle was fierce and stubborn and many a brave fellow was slain amongst whom, were Khizr Aka, the Mírza's agent, (vakíl) and Sayyid Hashím, one of the famous Bárha clan. Nizámuddín had been sent with orders to keep the town of Sarkij on his right and fall on the enemy's rear and the Mírzá told off Rái Durgá Sísodiah, a Rájpút of Rámpúr, near Chítor, with a portion of the left wing to support the movement. Mírzá 'Abdurrahím held his own division in reserve and when, after a time, he saw that the day was going against him, led down upon the enemy his 100 elephants. This charge put Muzaffar to flight, although he was supported by 7000 men. Just when the Mírzá was engaged with Muzaffar, Nizámuddín fell upon the enemy's rear and the imperialists gained a victory which cost their adversary dear. Abul Fazl estimates the rebel force at nearly 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot.† These numbers may not be exaggerated but, when he says that the Mírzá won his victory with only 10,000 troopers, one's first impression is of incredulity. It must be remembered, however, that the numbers of the imperial infantry beyond 300 or 500 (as variously stated) who were with the Mírzá's own division, are not stated. As was usual, the cavalry decided the day and infantry did not count for much.

Khán-khánánship. His advice prevailed and the victory of Sarkij contributed essentially to gain for its winner the coveted title. For authorities as to the battle see Bird 373, Chalmers II, 317, Eliot V, 434 and Lowe 342.

* By a palpable misreading of Elliot, and in opposition to Abul Fazl the German text makes the Mírzá lead the centre. Bird 333, Elliot V, 435. Trs.

† Bird 373, gives 5 or 6,000 cavalry. Trs.

It is hardly possible to form a sufficiently terrifying idea of the charge of a large body of elephants not to speak of the additional terror to horses of their trumpeting. Akbar's elephants were chosen and trained with unusual care and under his own supervision. They were mobilized fortresses from which four slingers or musketeers discharged missiles upon such foes as had not, in the charge, been transfixed by the animals' steel-armed tusks or hewn down by the giant swords which they were taught to wield, or trampled under their feet. We are not told that Muzaffar had any elephants at Sarkij, while Mírzá Khân had 100—the fiftieth part of Akbar's stud.

When to such a charge, there followed an attack in the rear, delivered by a man so recklessly brave as Nizámuddín, there seems no improbability in Abul Fazl's estimate. It must, however, be added that Abul Fazl's authority in military matters is not high for in the first place, he was no soldier and, in the second, he wrote hundreds of miles from the scene of action. It might appear strange that Akbar should have given Mírzá 'Abdurrahím so few troopers, but, as Qulij Khán came up from Barodah* three days after the engagement, the natural presumption is that the main body of cavalry was with the southern army—a presumption which is strengthened by Akbar's plan of the campaign, according to which it was in Qulij Khán's commission to join Quṭbuddín who, as commander of the southern forts, must have had chiefly infantry in his levies and so would have

* Bird 373. Trs.

required special support in the way of cavalry. It is, at the same time, to the credit of the tactics of Mírzá 'Abdurrahím and Nizámuddín that, in the battle of Sarkij, they compensated for the miscalculation which the erroneous supposition of Quṭbuddín's survival had introduced into Akbar's plans.

On 31st January, the victor made a ceremonious entry into Ahmadábád and, true to the
17th Muharram. spirit of his sovereign, issued a proclamation of amnesty, so that every one could breathe freely. In religious opinion also, 'Abdurrahim was animated no less by Akbar's tolerance. His father had been a Shí'ah but he had himself adopted Sunní views. He, however, deviated so markedly from orthodoxy that people said he was a Shí'ah who practised *taqiyyah*; (fear, caution), *i. e.*, did as though he were a Sunní, as Shí'ahs hold it legitimate to do where they are in a minority.* His culture was the best of his age for he wrote fluently Persian, Túrkí, Arabic and Híndí: he was a poet and, as such, known as Rahím and he
997 H. was accounted the Macœnas of his day. In 1588, he presented to his sovereign a Persian translation which still exists, of the celebrated Chagatáï memoirs of Bábar. He survived Akbar twenty-one years and left an undying name, for next to Todar Mall whom however he excelled in many-sided culture, he was by far the most remarkable man and general of Akbar's renowned environment. At the time when he won the victory of Sarkij he was
964 H. 28 years old, having been born in 1556-7.

* Blochmann 338 and n. Trs.

A few days after the battle of Sarkij, Mírzá Khán left Ahmadábád in charge of Sayyid Qásim Bárha, and, together with Qulij Khán whom he had summoned from Barodah, moved towards Kambay. Hither Muzaffar had fled by way of Mahmúdábád and here, having raised contributions in money from the merchants and other inhabitants, he had re-assembled some 2000* men from the ruins of his army. The rural population also, who regarded him as their lawful sovereign flocked to his standard.

The rapid movement of the Mírzá, who had covered his rear by a strong garrison, determined Muzaffar to quit Kambay. When the imperialists were within 20 miles of Mahmúdábád, they went off to the south and Barodah. The Mírzá pursued as far as Wásád, on the Mahindrí and thence, sent on Qulij Khán with orders to overtake Muzaffar and attack him. Qulij Khán's force was, however, brought to a stand by the difficulties and narrowness of the road so that, after a slight skirmish, Muzaffar contrived to get off to Rájpiplá and Nádot†. Continuing his march, Mírzá Khán entered Barodah with his army on the first week of March. After a short halt for rest, he followed Muzaffar to Nádot and by his approach, drove him into the neighbouring hills. At Nádot, the imperialists suffered by the defection of Atálíq Bahádur and so, says Nizámuddín, the insurgents were again set in motion. Apprehending that the spirit of disloyalty might spread further,

16th Çafar.

* Tabaqát, Badáoní. Trs.

† Blochmann 335, Elliot V, 435. Trs.

Mírzá Khán imprisoned a kinsman Atálíq, San Bahádur Uzbak, for in such crises, swift action, especially when successful, is the readiest exorcism for treachery. As has been said, there breathed in the young commander a spirit akin to Akbar's who shewed most courage in the greatest emergencies. Precisely as his sovereign would have done, 'Abdurrahím resolved, spite of the strength of the enemy, spite of his own diminished forces and spite of the unfavourable nature of the ground, to assume the offensive and compel Muzaffar to fight—a resolution in which Abul Fazl says the imperialists were strengthened by the victorious return of Naurang Khán (? Tolak) from chastising Sayyid Daulat.

In the battle of Nádot which is about to be described, the centre was led by Mírzá Khán; the right wing was under Naurang and Sharíf Kháns—son and brother respectively of Qutbuddín—the left was under Qulij and Tolak Kháns and Mu. Páyandah Khán Mughul led the van.* Nizámuddín shall tell the story of the fight.

"I was sent forward to reconnoitre and find out "the best way of attacking the enemy. When I "reached the foot of the hills,† I attacked the "enemy's infantry and drove them back a good two "miles to where their main force was drawn up in "array. A sharp action ensued. The discharge of "arrows and bullets was quite bewildering and many

* Elliot V, 436. Trs.

† These are perhaps the two hills of which Abul Fazl (Chalmers II, 319,) speaks as being near Nádot, on the Sátí.

"men and horses on both sides were wounded. I dis-
"mounted some of my best men and rode on with
"them to the mountain, and I sent some to call up
"Qulij Khán. I also sent Khwájah Muhammad
"Rafía a man renowned for his courage. Qulij
"Khán came up on the left and becoming engaged,
"he bore back the enemy a little. But reinforcements
"were brought up by the enemy and Qulij Khán
"and Tolak Khán were repulsed and fell back a bow-
"shot distance. The men whom I had dismounted
"while the enemy was pushing after Qulij Khán,
"finding the way clear, ascended the hill. When the
"enemy returned, they attacked us and many men
"were killed. Qulij Khán had found some shelter
"and held his ground. I sent to Mírzá Khán for the
"elephant guns. They were brought up upon the
"elephants and we discharged several guns against
"the spot where Muzaffar was standing. Naurang
"Khán now came up the mountain which covered
"the enemy's left, and got the command of his posi-
"tion. When the balls from the elephant guns fell
"in the midst of Muzaffar's division, he fled and great
"numbers of his men were taken prisoners or killed.
"The imperial arms obtained a complete victory."
By this victory of Nádot,* the imperialists regained the mainland of Gujrát with the exception of Barodah and this too, after seven months' defence by Chirkis Rúmí and Naçírá fell to Qulij Khán. Immediately after the fight, Mírzá 'Abdurrahím returned to Ahmadábád, in order there to take up the administration

* Blochmann 335. Trs.

in the interests of the emperor. The news of the victory reached Akbar in Etawah, as he was moving from Iláhábás to Fathpúr Síkrí, with the intention of going himself to Gujrát. Four months he had spent on the Ganges, watching the progress of the new fort at Piyág where, in the pacified parts of his eastern dominions, it was not only pleasurable to display power and splendour, but also well-judged policy, for the brilliance of court life and the eager play of intrigue for royal favour must have attracted the grandees of Bengal and now, that the court moved nearer to them, they allowed their interests to be bound up in it again. If it is not borne in mind that in Akbar only was the idea of a State embodied and that with him and his chief ministers—Todar Mall in particular—originated the conception of a state which should supersede old world notions by being law-abiding and controlled by an organized body of officials; it might appear that the river journey with its costly equipment and the jocund founding of the fort at Piyág were but the amiable trifling of a pomp-loving despot and this the more, that they fell in a time when Shahbáz Khán was fighting in the east and 'Abdurrahím had been sent to quell disorders in the south. To the majority of people, they did seem such and, precisely for this reason, was Akbar the man of their hearts. Nizámuddín writes on the subject with a naïvety which may justly be called that of oriental Mediævalism. "His Majesty spent four months there very pleasantly." To him it was a matter of course that his sovereign should amuse himself while he

stakes life to win that sovereign's gold and favour. Of Akbar's political ideas, he knew as little as did Abul Fazl of his own military tactics. With subtle diplomacy, the emperor veiled the fulfilment of great plans and high thoughts in that dazzling robe of clement despotism which nobles and populace alike loved. The struggles in Kábul and Bengál had in truth given him a serious lesson, for they had arisen from the too great publicity of his action in his differences with the 'ulamás and in his feudal reforms. He had learned from Man'çúr's severity and from Muzaffar Turbatí's death and not he only, but also Todar Mall. The splendid progress on the Ganges and the festive months at Piyág are signs of the same conciliatory policy which made him greet the stone which bore the Prophet's sacred footprint. Towards the close of the holiday time, there came from Gujrát tidings that I'timád and Shihábuddín were at their wits' end in Paṭan; Nizámuddín crippled in Karí; Muzaffar Sháh in possession of the province; Zainuddín and Quṭbuddín murdered; Barodah fallen. This intelligence fell like lead on Akbar's soul, for he saw that the plan sketched for Mírzá Khán, of co-operation with Quṭbuddín and the Málwah contingent had been built on an erroneous supposition, since Quṭbuddín was gone. Akbar set forth to return to Fathpúr Síkrí. The despised Muzaffar had grown into a treacherous, adroit and energetic foe—not a rebel subject but the empire's enemy,—and the emperor proposed to arm in person to combat him and to remedy the defects of his first plan of operations.

When Akbar resolved to fight his empire's foe himself, he had looked within; he looked above now that his will was to become deed. Above, the shining planets pursued their eternal course, in silent repose; below wavered the tide of human life, fluctuating from fortune to misfortune and from misfortune back to fortune. The stars above spoke an unchanging speech and this, the sage of Shíráz, Mír Fathullah, was wise to interpret. Who shall utter the feelings of the emperor when having asked counsel of the renowned astrologer, he received for answer, after the sage had pursued for a while his "starry flight of thought," that the joys of victory would twice be snatched by the imperial chiefs within that year.* How did the man who proudly named himself God's shadow, receive the news that his arms had overthrown his foe at Sarkij and again in the hills near Nádot? He welcomed it with thanks to God. Lavish favour flowed from his hands upon his valiant soldiers in Gujrát. Farmán followed farmán, gift succeeded gift; 'Abdurrahím received the title of Prince of Princes (Khán-khánán) which his father Bairám had borne and with it a horse, a robe, a jewelled dagger and the banner of a mançabdár of Five Thousand (*tumantoq*). The heart of the young victor may have swelled with satisfaction but he was not the man to think only of himself. With open hand, he gave everything he possessed to the brave soldiers who had won his honours for him. At the last, came forward a man for whom no gift remained and to him his gene-

* Chalmers III, 320. Trs.

ral gave a possession which was characteristic both of himself and of his age, the costly ink-pot which he carried in his belt—the ink-pot of the poet-victor of Sarkij and Nádot. Nizámuddín had other ideas; "On me, the author" he writes in the Tabaqát, "Akbar bestowed a horse, a robe and increased emoluments." In these brief words speaks content that his son's losses in the sack of Ahmadábád had been made good, and honourable satisfaction that his sovereign had recognized his daring and quiet courage. Nizámuddín is of one of the finest types of Akbar's day. Unresting, undelaying, always in the forefront; cool in danger; strategist enough to lay out a plan and tactitician enough to carry it out; schooled in letters to describe both plan and action; as much at home in the saddle as in the writer's seat; pious and humble in the faith of his fathers; loyal to his sovereign; to comrades a chivalrous friend, in a word, a frame of iron with the soul of an oriental "*Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.*"

Mírzá Khán and Nizámuddín were admirable complements to each other and this the better that neither was so self-seeking as to wish to push forward alone and especially too, because the younger knew how to profit by the military experience of the older man. Under 'Abdurrahím, Nizámuddín had always his right place, in the front. Mírzá Khán employed him as chief of his staff, followed his advice and, in the end, let him choose his own post. This harmony between the two commanding officers—for such they practically were, although, as a mançabdár of Four

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Thousand, Qulij Khán may have held higher nominal rank than the Mír Bakshí, Nizámuddín—was so much the more advantageous to the emperor that to the brilliant second act of his Gujrátí drama there succeeded a wearisome third.

After his defeat in Nádot and in spite of harassment on the way by the imperialists, Muzaffar whose military energy and acuteness must command our admiration even though seen through a cloud of perfidy and murder, went by a wide circling route through Chámpánír, Bírpúr and Jháláwár into the country of Sorat'h and rested himself at Góndal, 24 miles from Júnágarh.

Surashtra is the correct appellation of the peninsula now commonly known as Kát'híwár. Abul Fazl* estimates its coast line, from Ghóghah to Arámrah, at 250 miles and its breadth, from Sindhaur to Díú, at 144. After its reduction by Akbar, it was divided as it probably was before, into nine sarkárs (*prants*), each of which was inhabited by a different tribe. Abul Fazl's description of Surashtra, apart from its historical interest, is worthy of notice because it shows what a formidable stronghold the region was in the pretender's hands and, further, because taken in conjunction with Nizámuddín's narrative, it gives a general view of the petty warfare of his day and thus brings within our comprehension, the more obscure operations in Bengal as well as those later ones of the campaign in Afghánístán.

The first division (sarkár) was usually called New

* Aín i Akbarí, Gladwin 67 *ff.* Trs.

Sorat'h.* Abul Fazl says that it had not been explored for a long time, on account of its dense forests and the intricacy of its mountains. A person was carried through it by accident who informed others of his discoveries. Its chief town, Júnágaṛh, possessed a stone fort and there was another at Adhum but abandoned, on a mountain 16 miles from the capital. The chief of this division was, like the other inhabitants, a Rájpút and of the Ghelot tribe. He commanded 1000 cavalry and 2000 infantry together with a number of Ahírs (cowherds). Near Júnágaṛh was an island in which dwelt men of the Kalyán tribe. One place, Naugangsháh on the Bhadar, was renowned for fine camels and large horses.

The second division was Paṭan and its chief town was Paṭan Somnát which lay, with its stone fort, in a plain on the sea-shore. At six miles distance lay Auraní, renowned for the excellence of its sword manufacture. Here there is a well, the water from which sharpens any blade it may touch. Paṭan Somnát was and is a place of great religious resort, as were two other towns, (?) Biranjí and (?) Gaurinir, in this division. The population and chief, with his forces, are identical in tribe and number with those of New Sorat'h.

The third division contains the port of Ghóghah; its zamíndár is of the Gauhil tribe, with a following of 2000 cavalry and 4000 infantry.

The fourth division includes the ports of Mowa and Talaja and is inhabited by a tribe called Wati who raise 300 horse and 500 foot soldiers.

* Gladwin 67. Trs.

The fifth division formed the western angle of the peninsula and was called Dwárká or Jagat. It had a strong fort called Arámrah, twenty miles from Dwárká and occupied by the Badhil tribe. The fighting strength of the division was 1000 cavalry and twice as many foot.*

The sixth division was almost unknown and was impervious to an army on account of its forests and mountains. It was inhabited by "the tribe of Chitore" (?)† and raised 1000 cavalry and 2000 infantry.

The seventh division was occupied by the Baghelas who could furnish 200 horse and 200 foot; here dwelt also many of the Kat'hí tribe who were of the Ahír caste and whose business it was to tend horses. Their military force was 6000 of each arm, cavalry and infantry. "Some people" translates Gladwin from Abul Fazl "consider this tribe to be of "Arabian origin. They are very sagacious and ex-"tremely hospitable and they will eat with persons of "every religion; many of them are exceedingly beauti-"ful. When a jágírdár comes amongst them, they first "exact an engagement that neither man nor woman "of them shall be called to account for incontinency." The above stipulation seems to indicate that there survived, in this remote corner, one of those primitive marriage customs which Híndústán had forgotten for a millennium, whether that form of polygamy which some Malays still practice or polyandry, as it existed among the Aryans before the era of the

* Gladwin 67. Tr.

† Gladwin 69.

Mahábhárata. In any case, the stipulation sufficiently shows that this seventh division of Sorat'h was not favourable soil for Akbar's efforts at cultivation. A second tribe neighboured the Baghelahs—a clan of Ahírs called Purunjah who were perpetually at war with the Jám of Kachh and brought into the field 3000 cavalry and an equal force of infantry.

The eighth division had the seaport of Jhánjir and was inhabited by the Watschi tribe who possessed a force of 200 horse and the like number of foot.

The ninth division was peopled by Charuns and Bhawts. Both claim to issue from Mahádeo, the first boasting of being the product of the sweat of his brow and the second of his spittle.* The Charuns mustered 400 foot and 500 horse. They employed themselves mostly "in singing hymns of celebration "and in reciting genealogies and in battle they repea-"ted warlike fables to animate the troops." They could also reveal secret things. Throughout Híndústán there was hardly a great man who had not some men of this tribe in his service. The Bhawts equalled the Charuns in the animating power of their songs and excelled them in chronology, but the philosopher of Akbar's court thought the Charuns the better soldiers.

The numbers given by Abul Fazl as being the muster of fighting men in Sorat'h specify only the levies claimed subsequent to its conquest from the eight divisions by Akbar. Its military strength may safely be doubled or trebled. This was shown when-

* My Edition of Gladwin (1800) has *spine*—but Dr. v. Buchwald uses *Speichel.* Trs.

ever a man came forward who knew how to set the masses in movement. Moreover where the hand of man erected no artificial stronghold, there river, wood, rock and defile served for fortifications.

Such was the region which Muzaffar's insurrectionary talent now chose for the theatre of his deeds—it was the country from which his mother sprung. He rested, as has been said, after his flight from Nádot, at Góndal and here his scattered forces gathered round him to the number of nearly 3000 horse and foot. Of gold he had abundance since the fall of Barodah and Broach. For a lakh of mahmúdís (about £3,540) and a jewelled dagger, he won the support of Amín Khán Ghorí, the ruler of New Sorat'h who, with two others of his house, held 9000 villages in jágír.* For a similar sum he gained over Jám Satarsál, the rájah of Jháláwár who could lead to battle 8000 infantry and 7000 cavalry. With help from these two chiefs, Muzaffar hoped to strike another blow at Ahmádábád. His prestige was however, a thing of the past and the two jágírdárs of Kát'híwár became somewhat reflective. Assuredly Abul Fazl was right in comparing such men to a swarm of greedy flies who were attracted solely by Muzaffar's gold. Nizámuddín describes the episode with humorous gravity. Amín Khán being cautious, said to Muzaffar, "Go to the Jám and take him "along with you. I will attend to the provisions "for the army and will follow you." When Muzaffar went to the Jám, he drew back and said, "You

* E. C. Bayley. History of Gujrát, 17.

"march and advance against Ahmadábád; I will "follow." If Muzaffar did not wish to surrender everything, he was however, for good or for evil, compelled to go on and accordingly advanced to Morbí, 120 miles from the capital and on the route which crosses the Ran. When the Mírzá heard of this advance, he confided the capital to Qulij Khán and, having detached Sayyid Qásim Bárha to Paṭan and stationed detachments wherever they were required, he set out accompanied by Nizámuddín and Naurang against Muzaffar. Muzaffar advanced eighty miles beyond Morbi as far as Birámgáon and still saw nothing of either the Jám or Amín Khán. Disheartened and distressed, he retraced his steps, after having plundered Radhánpúr, towards the mountains of Bardá and thence to Dwárká (Jagat) the most western town of Sorat'h.

His defaulting allies now thought it well to make peace with the Khán-khánán. Amín Khán, through the intermediation of Mír Abú Turáb, sent his son to wait on the Mírzá and assure him of his good wishes. The Jám through his agent (*vakíl*) admitted that he had taken gold from Muzaffar but denied that he had formed any alliance. He said that he was ready to guide a party of light troops to the spot where Muzaffar lay and that, if sent quickly, these might possibly capture him. The Khán-khánán went in person and, as he found no traces of Muzaffar on entering the mountainous country, divided his troops into four bodies. Of one of these, he kept command and sent forth the others under Naurang, Nízámuddín and

Daulat Lodí respectively with orders to enter and plunder the cultivated country.

With astonishing talent and courage, Muzaffar strove to turn to account the Khán-khánán's march into the mountain tracts for while the latter was searching the forests and making deterrent examples, Muzaffar slipped round the north of the peninsula and made his way out to a place called Othaníya which, says Nizámuddín's translator, lies between the Sábarmatí and the mountain defiles and was held by a rebellious Kólí named Bháí. The Kólís (a Dravidian tribe) supported him and so too did some discontented zamíndárs and the Grássiahs, a brigand clan who lived by extortions which they wrung, under pretext of affording military protection, from undefended villages. With the aid of these, the Pretender thought himself sufficiently strong to make a descent on Ahmadábád but he had under-estimated the foresight of the Khán-khánán who, before entering Kát'hiwár, had blocked the roads to the capital. Mední Rái Chauhán, Khojam Bardí and others had been left at Hadala on the high road to Kambay and he had also stationed a detachment at Párántí, eight miles from Othaníya.

When Muzaffar went to Othaníya, Sayyid Qásim Barhá moved from Patan to Bíjápúr which is sixty miles from Othaníya and the force from Hadala joined that at Parántí. Possibly Muzaffar was not aware of this junction of forces, for, having contrived to obtain even elephants, he attacked Parántí but he was signally

defeated and lost both elephants and canopy.* Barefoot and half dead he escaped from the carnage.

That Muzaffar had been able to steal out of Sorat'h and fall upon the Khán-khánán's rear, at a time when the Jám's people were acting as the latter's guides, suggests that all was not honest with these guides. Even while in the hills, Mírzá Khán had heard that the Jám was not acting in good faith. The agents (*vakíls*) of the suspect were therefore dismissed and sent back to him, a course which obliged him to let fall his mask. To ensure himself some degree of safety he collected an army of 20,000 horse (or 8000 according to Badáoní) and innumerable foot,† but when the victor of Sarkij came to within fourteen miles of his position, the Jám's fighting courage failed and he sent an envoy to make apologies and also his son with three large elephants, eighteen Arab horses and an earnest expression of desire for peace.

The gifts were accepted and the Khán-khánán returned to Ahmadábád where, for five months, he occupied himself in bringing order into the administration. At the end of this period, he was summoned to court whither he went with all speed and where he arrived in August 1585. He left behind him a reputation such that even so late as between 1748-62, 'Alí Muhammad could

Mirdád 993 H.

* Possibly this canopy was one which had been given to him at the opening of the revolt by the devotees of Sarkij and which was taken by them from the tomb of the Sultáns of Gujrát. Badáoni, Lowe 338.

† There seems to have been one encounter in which many Rájpúts were slain and much plunder taken by the imperialists. Bird 379. Trs.

write in the *Mirát Ahmadi*,* "If all his rare qualities "which are generally known were to be detailed such "would require a distinct volume."†

Abul Fazl and Nizámuddín, at this point in their histories, tell a story of characteristically romantic type. Rái Singh, a zamíndár of Jháláwár, had, by bold and successful raids on his neighbours, made a name which was celebrated in song and story throughout Gujrát. At some date before 1583,—
991 H.
Abul Fazl says nineteen years, Nizámuddín two,—he had fought and been left wounded on the field. He was rescued and tended by compassionate *jogís* and in the guise of a mendicant spent with them a space of time which has been variously estimated at nineteen and two years. He was believed dead and the women of his house, with one exception, devoted themselves to the flames,—his favourite wife, unwilling to believe him lost, withheld herself from *satí* and survived to welcome her Odysseus to her boding heart. Mírzá Khán's reputation as a man of just dealing had reached the ears of the *jogís* and to him
991 H.
Rái Singh went with his tale. The Mirzá in 1583, sent him to be recognized by his people and they, having heard his story and examined his proofs, acknowledged him. The Khán-khánán then took him to court and at the end of 1585,
993 H.
reinstated him in his possessions. Nizámuddín shall tell the rest of his story. "Rái Singh (on "his restoration) attacked the people of Kát'híwár and "plundered several of their tribes and he also began to

* Bird, Preface, 91*ff*. Trs. † Bird 382.

"assail the country of the Jám of Jháláwár and of "Khéngár (chief of the Jharéjah tribe). He mastered "and took possession of the town of Halwad one of the "dependencies of Jháláwár. The people of that neigh- "bourhood who had long been at enmity with him, "assembled in force to attack him. The intelligence "of their rising was brought to him while he was in "the *chaugán* ground. He immediately started to "meet them and came up to them in a moonlight "night. They sent a person to him to say that if he "were really Rái Singh he would not attack them by "night. He magnanimously assented to their wish "and rested where he was and went to sleep with his "head upon his shield. His opponents here found "their opportunity and seduced his followers. When "morning broke their whole party fell upon him. "He and the eighty men who were left with him "fought on foot and he was killed."—News of his death, which he thus found at the hands of Panchanan, the nephew of Khéngár in 1586, reach-
995 H.
ed the Khán-khánán just as he was about to vacate the government of Gujrát and join Akbar in his march towards Kábul.*

Some account of the game of *chaugán* mentioned in the preceding paragraph will be of interest. It was a wild game and Akbar loved it well and was a master in it. Its modern form is polo and it is a sport which makes the German *schnitzel jagd* (hockey) seem altogether insignificant. It may be described as croquet played from horseback. Abul Fazl thus describes it.†

* Abul Fazl, Bib. Ind. 464 and 524. Trs. † Blochmann 297.

"The game itself is played in two ways. The first "way is to get hold of the ball with the crooked end "of the *chaugán* stick and to move it slowly from the "middle of the *hál* (pillars which mark the end of "the playground). This manner is called in Hindi *rol.* "The other way consists in taking deliberate aim, and "forcibly hitting the ball with the *chaugán* stick out "of the middle; the player then gallops after it, "quicker than the other and throws the ball back. "This mode is called *belah*, and may be performed in "various ways. The player may either strike the ball "with the stick in his right hand, and send it to the "right forwards or backwards; or he may do so with "his left hand; or he may send the ball in front of "the horse to the right or to the left. The ball may "be thrown in the same direction from behind the "feet of the horse or from below its body; or the "rider may spit it, when the ball is in front of the "horse; or he may lift himself upon the back leather "of the horse and propel the ball from between the "feet of the animal. His Majesty also plays at "*chaugán* in dark nights, which caused much asto- "nishment even among clever players. The balls which "are used at night are set on fire. For this purpose, "*palás* wood is used which is very light and burns "for a long time. For the sake of adding splendour "to the games which is necessary in worldly matters, "His Majesty has knobs of gold and silver fixed to "the top of the *chaugán* sticks. If one of them "breaks, any player that gets hold of the pieces may "keep them. It is impossible to describe the excel-

"lency of this game. Ignorant as I am, I can say but "little about it.

After the departure of the Khán-khánán for court, the contest with the Pretender continued. In it, in Muzaffar and Nizámuddín, were opposed men of equal energy and talent. Qulij Khán now as always served his sovereign with great fidelity, a fact not to be forgotten at this juncture. He was a man of high birth, a kinsman of the rulers of Túrán, a learned and pious Sunní and, withal, a poet. He now admirably supplemented the efforts of the Mír Bakhshí in the recrescent struggle with Muzaffar. After the Khán-khánán's departure, one of Nizámuddín's first acts was to punish the insurgents who had killed Rái Singh. This is not the place to detail the many subsequent engagements which were fought with Muzaffar. By gradual steps the imperialists succeeded in driving him across the Ran and into Kachh. The conflict changed when Nizámuddín saw himself obliged to cross the Ran in person. Hitherto Muzaffar had waged a war which bore quite a modern stamp in the skill of its operations but now he was little more than the leader of wealthy and half civilized robber clans, for the most part Kólís one of the primitive tribes of India. Nizámuddín initiated against these, more than against the Pretender, a war of annihilation, a war of type unknown at that time in Híndústán but which Germany still knew. One seems to hear Sebastian Schaertlin speaking through Nizámuddín when he says that it being necessary to put an end to these proceedings of the Kachh brigands, he crossed the Ran

and set to work "plundering and destroying." He burned and razed two towns, Karí and Katáríá, and "realized an enormous booty and after plundering "and destroying nearly three hundred villages, in the "course of three days recrossed the Ran opposite Mál "and Morbí. These two parganas also, as belonging "to Khéngár, were ravaged."*

Yet another attempt did Muzaffar make when, in 1586, he joined a son of Amín Khán Ghorí in rebellion against his father. It failed and the chiefs of Kát'híwár would seem to have learned the lesson set by Nizámuddín's vigour for many now gave their allegiance to the emperor.

995 H.

There remained other tribes to intimidate into civilization and submission—the Grássiahs and Kólís of the mainland near Othaníya. Fifty of their villages were burnt and seven forts erected to keep them in check. Then falling back with his forces, the Mír Bakhshí put down the mutinous proceedings of the Grássiahs of Wákánír and Sarnál, north-east of Ahmadábád and having built forts and left garrisons in these places and removed the chiefs, returned to the local capital.† Nizámuddín would seem to have been Commander-in-Chief of the Gujrát army after the departure of the Khán-khánán and perhaps also to have acted as

* It is with no uncertain note that Nizámuddín holds converse with rebels. He wrote from Morbí to its chief Khéngár that, knowing him not responsible for a recent outrage, he had inflicted (by ravaging two of his parganas) only a little punishment. Had it been otherwise; had he, instead of his nephews, been concerned in the offence, his own residence would have been attacked. If he did not thenceforth act loyally he would see what would happen. As was natural, apologies were tendered. Elliot V, 446. Trs.

† Elliot V, 447. Trs.

996 H. Governor of the province. In 1587, Khán i A'zam Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah joined his appointment in Gujrát and Nizámuddín was recalled to Court. In fourteen days, he travelled from Ahmadábád (presumably) to Láhor and received his deserts in a most gracious reception. Little by little unswerving strength accomplished the pacification of Gujrát, but it still for some years found stiff work for the Khán i A'zam and in all disaffection, Muzaffar was the leading spirit. Leaving aside remote hill tracts which were known only to the frontier forces, Gujrát prospered under Akbar and became one of the finest provinces of the empire. Its position brought it into communication with the Portuguese—an intercourse on which the emperor reflected with thoughtful eye and boding mind but which exercised a powerful intellectual influence on himself through the relations it established with Christian missionaries.*

* The following summary which is taken from Blochmann (page 326) will give some idea of the persistence, resources and energy of Muzaffar. It is a brief record of the doings of A'zam Khán in his Gujrát command. "Towards the end of the 34th year, he ('Azíz) was appointed Governor of "Gujrát in succession to the Khán-khánán." As has been said in the text, he did not take up his appointment until later. "In the 30th year, he "moved against Sultán Muzaffar, and defeated him in the following year." This defeat savoured so much of a victory that Briggs believes it was such. "He then reduced Jám and other zamíndárs of Kachh to obedience and conquered Somnát and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year). Júnágarh also, "the capital of the ruler of Sorat'h submitted to him (5th Zí Qa'dah 999 H.) "and Miyan Khán and Táj Khán, sons of Daulat Khán ibn i Amín Khán i Ghorí "joined the Mughuls. 'Azíz gave them both jagírs. He had now leisure to "hunt down Sultán Muzaffar who had taken refuge with a zamíndár of Dwárká. "In a fight the latter lost his life and Muzaffar fled to Kachh followed by "'Azíz. There also the zamíndárs submitted and soon after delivered Sultán "Muzaffar into his hands." Trs.

From 1591 till the end of 1593, the Khán i A'zam was fully occupied in the reduction of Sorat'h where Muzaffar was the moving spirit of resistance. When he had taken Júnágaṛh, on 27th August 1592, he made every effort to discover Muzaffar's retreat and finding that the latter had taken refuge with the zamíndár of (?) Arámrah, sent Naurang Khán together with Nizámuddín Ahmad, Gújar Khán and Muhammad, one of his own sons, in search of the fugitive. This force took Dwárká and established a mosque there, but Muzaffar had been conveyed by his protector to a neighbouring fortified island (? Sankhódhár). Thither too went the imperialists and there ensued an engagement in which on account of the nature of the ground the troopers had to fight on foot and in which success was to Naurang Khán. Muzaffar's host was killed and he himself, distressed and perplexed, crossed to Kachh and threw himself on the protection of its chief. When intelligence of this reached Júnágaṛh, the Khán i A'zam sent troops under his son, 'Abdullah towards Kachh. On his march, 'Abdullah was met by the Jám with proffers of good wishes and also by agents of the zamíndár of Kachh who wished to make terms. To no terms however, would the Khán i A'zam listen so long as they did not include the surrender of Muzaffar. At length the Jám, who was afraid of consequences, promised to deliver up his former ally for a price, the restoration of the pargana of Morbí. He then sent on a messenger to pretend to Muzaffar that Khán-

999 H. to 1001 H.

7th Sharíur 1000 H.

gár, the zamíndár of Great Kachh was coming to visit him and in this way tempted him to a spot where he was seized by the Khán i A'zam's agents, on 27th December 1592.

16th Déh 1001 H.

Having thus accomplished their object, the party hastened to return to Júnágarh. They marched all night and were, when morning dawned, at Dhorrol, thirty miles from Morbí. Here Muzaffar alighted for a little and retired behind a tree for some pretext and there cut his throat with a razor which he is said to have carried concealed. His head was sent to the Khán i A'zam who despatched it by Nizámuddín to the emperor and his body was hung at the entrance of Náurang's dwelling place.*

* Mirát Ahmadí, Bird, 420*ff*. Abul Fazl, Bib. Ind. III, 628-30. Chalmers, II, 469. Blochmann, 326. Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V, 466. Badáoní, Lowe 145: Firishtah, Briggs II, 268. Trs.

Abul Fazl, Chalmers II, 468*ff*. says "He thus with his own hands completed the punishment which his evil deeds had merited. Either this was "the true state of the case or perhaps it may have been that the Khán i "'Azam took upon himself to consign him to annihilation without the imperial permission lest if he had been once brought into the presence of the "emperor, his excessive humanity might have induced him to not allow of "his execution." Abul Fazl does not state, what Nizámuddín and the Mirát Ahmadí say, that the force in charge of which the captive Muzaffar was, was not under Khán i A'zam but under his son 'Abdullah. This makes the supposition of Muzaffar's death being an execution more improbable than it is in face of the concurrence of testimony of its being a suicide.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

Dr. v. Buchwald formed the opinion that Muzaffar Sháh was executed by Akbar's orders. This opinion is in direct opposition to the sources and for it he gives no authority beyond "M. S. Hofmann at Noer." It is an inference drawn from a letter, written by Abul Fazl, for the emperor, to 'Abdullah of Túrán. By the kind help of Dr. George Hoffmann, I find that the letter referred to as above, is one translated by himself for the Count von Noer, from the Inshá i Abul Fazl (also called Maktúbát i 'Allámí). (See Blochmann's prefaces to his Persian and English editions of the Áín i Akbarí).

The German text is as follows:—

"Fate at length overtook the oath-breaking Pretender; he fell "into the hands of the imperialists. Akbar himself dictated the "story of Muzaffar's death in a diplomatic letter to 'Abdullah "Khán of Túrán, the mightiest of his neighbour princes. As "Abul Fazl is its author, the letter would in itself have special "interest, but this it has in two other directions. The emperor "mentions no syllable of Muzaffar's being the *supposititious* Nathú "as would, in this place have been very opportune, but names "him Sultán Muzaffar of Gujrát. Moreover, Akbar's style is highly "characteristic for the history of oriental diplomacy. In the same "letter, Akbar points out, with accomplished courtesy, that it was "shameless in 'Abdullah's son, to dare to ask the hand of his "(Akbar's) daughter. In anger at this request, Akbar simply "drowned the courier. Replying, however, to a note of 'Abdullah's "excusing his son, Akbar says 'Before the bearer of the message "arrived, he was drowned and the contents of his despatch did "not become known, and love of justice regrets this misadven-"ture,—assuredly the ties of ancient friendship have hereby been "neither loosened nor strengthened." In accordance with this specimen of style, it is beyond doubt what is meant when Akbar continues, in speaking of Muzaffar—" It was an astounding event,

"that he killed himself, when he was brought to the threshold of "the imperial court."

* * * *

"The sense of this involved phrasing is that Akbar, without "further parley had the faithless murderer of Quṭbuddín exe-"cuted; at best one may conjecture that the execution was secret."

Some explanation of the above statement about the courier is afforded by the fact that in the Lak'hnau edition of the Inshá, there is a marginal gloss which states that Akbar drowned the Túránian messenger who brought a request for the hand of a daughter of Akbar. What authority this gloss has, I am unable to say. Abul Fazl has a straightforward account of the death of the messenger (Akbarnámah III, 578) who, according to him, was sent by Múmin Sultán, 'Abdullah's son with a request for the surrender of the Aimáqs of Badakhshán who had come to Akbar's court. The date of the drowning is given as 28th Khurdád, 998 and it is said that his boat sank in a whirlpool when he was crossing the Bahat.

Returning to the question whether Muzaffar Sháh's death was an authorized execution or a suicide it should be remembered that at the time of its occurrence Akbar was in Láhor and Muzaffar in Gujrát. If therefore it were an authorized execution, contingent orders must have been given long before to Khán i 'A'zam. Few will say that circumstances would not have justified such foresight but the fact remains that all authorities concur in declaring the death self-inflicted.

In this note, as in all my other references to the Persian, I am indebted to Mr. Beveridge for translation and references. Trs.

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CHAPTER IV.

The death of Muhammad Hakím. Akbar on the Indus.

In reverting to the affairs of Kábul and with them, to those of Badakhshán, it is necessary to retrace our steps from the end of 1593, the year of Muzaffar Sháh's suicide, to 1585, to the time at which the Khán-khánán had taken up his residence in Ahmadábád, after his campaign in Súrashtra (Kát'híwár). Possibly, if it had been in his power, he would then have gone to the Dak'hín, the annexation of which was one of Akbar's long cherished plans, but first he devoted his energies to the administration of the re-conquered parts of Gujrát and their re-assimilation in government to the rest of the empire. Few months were allowed him for this gracious work of peace, for a fármán summoning him to court, ordered him to leave Gujrát whenever he should have settled its affairs to his satisfaction. He left Ahmadábád on 16th July and, taking with him the hero of the Rájpút Odyssiad, Rái Singh Jháláwár, arrived at Fathpúr Síkrí on 2nd August.* It would seem that the emperor desired to confer with his successful general about the reduction of the lesser states

1002 H. 993 H. 7th Mirdád, 993 H. 24th Mirdád.

* Chalmers II, 351*ff.*

of the Dak'hín for shortly after (apparently early in 1586), all the southern jágírdárs received orders for a general equipment for the purpose of extending Akbar's conquests towards the south. The expedition was placed under the command of Mírzá Khán 'Azíz Kokah while Shihábuddín Ahmad and Sharíf, Tolak and Naurang Kháns were to reinforce it from their districts and so too, Áçaf Khán (Jáfar Beg Qazwíní) from Ajmír. Khwájagí Fathullah was named *bakhshí* and Mír Fathullah Shírází, who had recently been honoured with the title of 'Azuddudaulah (the arm of the empire) was deputed to endeavour to bring over to the interests of Akbar, Rájah 'Ali Khán of Khandesh who was well inclined to the Nizám Sháh.

994 H.

Akbar was, at the time, hunting in Fathpúr Síkrí but he found leisure to give ear to counsel which warned him to keep an eye on the Panjáb. Twenty days after the Khán-khánán had reached the capital, there came news which upset all the royal plans of operations in the south. Mírzá Muhammad Hakím had died in Kábul, on 30th July 1585, and there were threats of a seditious league with Túrán.

12th Shabán, 993 H.

In the night of 22nd August, the emperor himself set forth for the Panjáb. In order to follow him in this rapid and fateful resolution, it is necessary to look beyond him and his dominions out to the distant Transoxanian land. Up to this time when Akbar had stepped forward to conquer, he had done so in the full consciousness that

11th Shariur.

peace could be established in India, only by means of a strong and rounded empire. At one time he fought in the fore-front; at another, held back;—as best subserved his policy of armed peace. Threatening though the recent rebellion in Bengal and the legitimist war in Gujrát had appeared, he had not hurried into the field. So soon however, as Muhammad Hakím rebelled (in 1581), Akbar was
989 H. in the saddle; so too now when his brother had drawn his last breath. His promptitude in these instances suggests that he considered Kábul the weak point in his dominions. At the present crisis, it was not a question of pacifying a province but of preserving the peace of Hindústán and of Central Asia to boot.

It has already been said, that when Muhammad Hakím proposed* to take refuge with the
989 H. Uzbaks, (1581) Akbar had apprehended contingent difficulties, for 'Abdullah Khán, the virtual ruler of the tribe, had grown to the height of rivalry with the emperor and of a rivalry with which India had seriously to reckon. In addition to this, there was hereditary enmity between the Uzbaks and the Mughuls.

After the death of their great chieftain, Sheibání, in
916 H. the battle of Merv (1510) the Uzbaks were for many years not united under one head.† The sovereign power was dissipated and the

* Eliot V, 425. Trs.

† Vollständige Uebersicht der ältesten Türkischen, Tatanischen und Mogholischen Völkerstämme, nach Raschid-ud-dins Vorgange bearbeitet von

separate clans were loosely linked only by kinship and common interest. It followed that the most capable and boldest of the chiefs would rise to headship and this position at the time of Akbar's accession was attained by 'Abdullah, a son of Iskandar and great grandson of Abul Khair.

'Abdullah was born in 1533 and his inheritance was the small district of Kerminch. He
940 H. early showed military prowess and added other lands to his own. At the age of 24,
969 H. he seized Bukhara and in 1561 caused his father, Iskandar, whom he summoned from Kerminch, to be proclaimed Khákán (Chief Khán) of the Uzbak tribes.* Iskandar was Khákán but 'Abdullah controlled the state and moreover, in his father's lifetime, effected the conquests of Balkh, Samarqand, Tashkend, Turkestán, Farghanah and Andijan. On the death of Iskandar in 1583, there was
991 H. little difficulty in electing 'Abdullah as the fittest successor in the Khákánship and this choice, says Howorth, subjected the "Uzbaks to a "single strong grasp instead of leaving them broken "into a number of appanages." 'Abdullah now con-

Franz von Erdmann. 8°. Kasan, 1841.—Turkistan by Eugene Schuyler. London 1876. Vol, I, 2nd edition. Appendix II. This contains a valuable essay by Professor Gregorief.—Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares par Aboul Ghâzi Bahâdur Chân, Traduction par le Baron Desmaison. Tome II, Pétersbourg, 1874—Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns, des Turks et des Mogols par Joseph Senkowski. 4°. Petersbourg, 1824. p. 24ff. and 88ff.—History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century, Henry H. Howorth. London, 1880, Part II, p. 733ff.

* History of the Mongols, Howorth, Part II, 726ff.

quered the greater part of Khurásán and Khuarezm together with Badakhshán. In making these later acquisitions, he had a capable if cruel lieutenant in his son, Abul Múmin.

Akbar and 'Abdullah embodied antagonistic principles but common to both were the gifts of dominating their environment, of ambition to found a great empire and of pre-eminent military capacity. Within the realms of each, existed hostile religious beliefs but these, in Túrán, were sectarian—the creeds of the Sunnís and the Shí'ahs: in Hindústán, there were not these only but also the dissimilar faith of Brahma. While Akbar thought to effect reconciliation by opposing to the hostile creeds a third, in the Din-i-Iláhí, 'Abdullah Khán who ruled only Muhammadans, ranged himself with the orthodox party and crushed the Shí'ahs with sanguinary force. Apart from the fact that for such a course, Akbar's power was insufficient, his nobler humanity shrank from it. Moreover he well knew that, not in Bengal only but throughout his empire, there dwelt mighty leaders who clung with fanaticism to the faith of the Prophet and who would joyfully greet the orthodox 'Abdullah, if he, taking his march from the Alps of Badakhshán and along the conquerors' path through the Khaibar, should fall upon the Panjáb. It was therefore a paramount duty to hinder a Túránian inroad on Kábulístán and thus forbid the formidable foe to set foot in India. Akbar's policy is epitomized in "*Si vis pacem, para bellum.*"

Not without a secondary motive will Abul Fazl

VOGERS ; U ARIO MACHINET

have so fully described the downfall of Badakhshání independence. While depicting the instability and the factions of the lesser state, he spoke to Akbar's mighty empire and set its own policy clear before it by showing that a country mismanaged as had been Badakhshán could not but succumb to 'Abdullah's greed of conquest. In doing this, he wished to give serious warning to unruly chiefs who might read or cause to be read the pages of his courtly chronicle.

In order to follow the events in Badakhshán which are about to be narrated, it is desirable to know something of the family relations of Mírzá Sulaimán, its ruler at the time of Akbar's accession and who had held it under both Bábar and Humáyún.* He was a Timurid in the sixth degree and an ambitious man: or perhaps it would be more correct to say that he was under ambitious domination, for his wife was that Khurram Begum of whom it was said that she had her husband under such control that he did nothing without her advice.† During the early years of Muhammad Hakím's viceroyalty, Sulaimán repeatedly interfered in Kábul—on the first occasion and when he gave a daughter in marriage to Muhammad Hakím,

970 H. by request of the latter (1562) but subsequently by force of arms. At some time

967 H. antecedent to 1559, Sulaimán desired to marry a widow of Prince Kámrán, named Muhtarim. She is said to have been an enemy of Khurram Be-

* Chalmers and Blochmann are the authorities for the subsequent part of this chapter. Trs.

† Blochmann, 312.

TRIVANDRUM PUBLIC LIBRARY.

gum, but whether the ill-will was caused by Sulaimán's marriage project or preceded it, our authority does not state. Khurram not only set herself against her husband's wishes but contrived, in opposition to those also of Muhtarim, to marry her to Sulaimán's son, Ibráhím. Of this compulsory union there was one son, Sháhrukh and in 1559, Muhtarim was again widowed by the death of Ibráhím in Balkh. Khurram now desired to send her "enemy" home to the latter's father, Sháh Muhammad of Káshgar but Muhtarim refused to go. It is not singular that so soon as Sháhrukh was old enough to serve as a tool of avengement, his mother should try to use him as such against Khurram Begum. Together with the never failing malcontents amongst the Badakhshání nobility, she incited him to rebel against his grandfather. Sulaimán would seem to have reared Sháhrukh with kindness and even at an early age, gave him possession of several districts. So long as Khurram Begum lived, she prevented any outbreak but on her death, Sháhrukh rebelled and seized the districts which had been his father's. At some time before 1575, Uzbak Sultán, the chief of Hiçár mediated between the kinsmen and a meeting place was chosen, at a spot where the Oxus splits into nine branches, over five of which Sháhrukh was to cross while his grandfather was to set over four.* Sulaimán lost courage when he had crossed one stream, but Sháhrukh had the generosity

967 H.

983 H.

* The following narrative is taken, often verbatim from Chalmers. Akbarnámah II, 332ff.

to advance over eight and the kinsmen parted temporarily reconciled. Sulaimán then proceeded to Koláb and from there renewed demands of concession from Sháhrukh—asking in particular, for the surrender or at the least, dismissal of Meher 'Áli and others who were obnoxious to himself. Though with grief of heart, Sháhrukh acceded but to other subsequent demands he could not submit and Sulaimán, offended, determined on war. The two met at Rostaq and although both at first inclined to peace, a fight ensued in which Sulaimán was worsted. He fled to Hiçár and in a short time, again attacked Sháhrukh with a similar result of failure and flight. In the interval between these engagements, Sháhrukh turned some attention to public affairs and giving Koláb to his eldest son, Muhammad Zamán (as guardian to whom he appointed Meher Áli,) took up his residence in Qunduz. These events bring the story of Badakhshán to the time when, in 1581, Akbar

989 H.

was in Kábul. This is the turning point in the history of Badakhshán. Precisely when Sháhrukh's star was the ascendant, the hand was nigh which had power to fix it. Akbar had suppressed the rebellion of his half-brother and was supreme in Kábul: he sent thence envoys to summon either Sháhrukh or his mother to his court. If at this time, Sháhrukh had acknowledged the emperor's supremacy, it is possible that he would have been assured, on payment of a small tribute, a position in Badakhshán similar to that which Muhammad Hakím had held in Kábul, for it was of importance to the em-

peror to maintain a dependent prince in this province between himself and the rising 'Abdullah. One consequence of Akbar's embassy to Sháhrukh was that even the ruler of Hiçár deserted Sulaimán. Hopeless of further assistance in that district, Sulaimán now endeavoured to come to terms with his usurping grandson and proposed a meeting at the former place of rendezvous and apparently under the same conditions. He went to the spot accompanied by a few Uzbaks, an escort of significance; but on this occasion too he refused to fulfil his part in crossing the four streams of his agreement (possibly at the instigation of the Uzbaks) and Sháhrukh who had most of the country in his power, being too proud to make advances, no meeting was effected. Muhtarim Begum's death now bereft Sháhrukh of good counsel.* She laid herself to rest without negociating with the emperor and Sháhrukh remained the toy of his own ambitions, and also, as was Sulaimán, the toy of the intrigues of 'Abdullah Khán.

Sulaimán now fled into the Uzbak country with the intention of going to 'Abdullah but the latter was in Tashkend and Sulaimán was received and welcomed by Iskandar. On the news of his arrival, 'Abdullah sent his father word that the fugitive was to be kept fast till he should himself come, but Sulaimán, from whose eyes the scales fell, escaped in the night and made his way again to Hiçár where Uzbak Sultán had so much compassion on him that he disregarded Abdullah's demand for his surrender and let him flee

* Chalmers II, 335. Trs.

further. Deserted by almost all, Sulaimán now went to Ṣháhrukh in Koláb, when the latter renewed his previous offer of sharing the country in the way in which it had been formerly partitioned, but to this Sulaimán would not consent and accepted only Kishm for his maintenance.

The country was now in the most lamentable confusion, the soldiery was discontented, the raiyats without justice, the garrisons dismantled and the whole desolate. Sháhrukh was surrounded by men who fed his pride as a Timurid to make opportunities for themselves. They lived like the real lords of the land and pursued their own advantage without regard to the interests of the master they professed to serve while their dishonest servants spread misery amongst all classes of the people. A new distribution of the province had just been made, presumably for the better exploitation of the resources of the people, when 'Abdullah Khán bore down upon them and early in 1584, without a blow struck, seized
992 H. the country which nature had created a fastness. To their days of presumption, there followed days of misery for the Timurids. Fugitives from their common country, through snow and storm, they met in Kábulístán. Sulaimán Mírzá, spite of previous disagreements, placed his hopes on his son-in-law, but Sháhrukh, although married to a daughter of the Viceroy, had not been on good terms with him or the Kábulís, and now sought to pass through Kábul unremarked and to throw himself on the magnanimity of his imperial kinsman. Muhammad Hakím received Sulai-

mán with favour and bestowed on him some villages in Laghmán (Lamghán) but he sought to bar Sháh-rukh's further progress, by commissioning Shádmán Hazárah to drive the refugee out of Kábulístán but not to permit him to enter India. "The unhappy "Mírzá, cooped up among the wild hills of Hazárah, "with his wives, his sons, and about thirty attendants, "thought every day would be his last."* "By the "mercy of Providence," writes Abul Fazl, a report got abroad that 'Abdullah had sustained a defeat from the Kolábís, the only Badakhshís who had not tamely submitted to the Túránian and on this intelligence, Shádmán, perhaps in a vision of future reward, permitted Sháhrukh to escape towards Badakhshán. Fearing lest the "barbarian" might repent his indulgence, Sháhrukh left the beaten track and rested a while in Kumhard. Here he learned that the rumour of Kolábí success was unfounded and moved to attack Talikan but hearing on his way that Koláb had fallen, he turned south for Kábul. At the pass of Salalang, he met Sulaimán who had been started by Muhammad Hakím for Badakhshán on news of the discomfiture of 'Abdullah.

"Their mutual misfortunes here taught them the "value of each other's assistance.† They were con-"sulting on their affairs when a party of Uzbaks set "upon them. Sháhrukh was compelled to leave a new "born son to the care of one of the poor women of the "desert and with Sulaimán to take to breathless flight. "Pressed by their pursuers, Sulaimán's horse sank

* Chalmers II, 338. † Chalmers, II, 339*ff*. Trs.

"under him, when Sháhrukh, generously dismounting, offered his own to the prostrate prince, but the "animal broke from their hold before he could be "mounted. An attendant devotedly relinquished his "courser to Sulaimán and Sháhrukh succeeded in "catching the runaway. They resumed their flight; "and, falling on two diverging roads, separated from "each other. The enemy took after Sháhrukh who "crossed a stream, broke the bridge and paused to "rest. He was soon after rejoined by Sulaimán and "while they were congratulating themselves on their "reunion, a messenger from Muhammad Hakím arrived with friendly proposals; but they, ignorant of "his return to loyalty, distrusted the propositions "and only sent some one to accompany the returning "envoys in order to ascertain the sincerity of Muhammad Hakím's proffers. They received further "encouragement from messengers of Kunwar Mán "Singh whereupon Sulaimán who was ashamed to "appear before the emperor* repaired to Hakím." When Sháhrukh crossed the bridge mentioned above, he lost one of his twin sons, Hasan and now sent the child's mother, with her other infant, Husain to Chárikár to search for the missing child. He himself set forward by Daminkoh for Dakka where he joined a caravan which was travelling slowly and in daily fear of robbers through the Khaibar to Hindústán. With it were relatives of Muhammad Hakím and among them his aunt, Khánzáda Begum, who had obtained

* An earlier passage in Chalmers says that his shame was due to his having "bartered Badakhshán for a journey to Makkah on his last visit to court."

leave from him to make the journey to Hindústán. One night, the caravan was attacked and plundered between Dakka and 'Áli Masjid. Sháhrukh made a brave and desperate resistance and escaped with difficulty, but one of his sons, Badí'uzzamán, "a bundle of wicked bones" who lived to be murdered by his own brothers in Patan, fell from his horse and was taken. When morning dawned, Sháhrukh had nothing better to do than turn once more towards Badakhshán. He fell in again with Sulaimán and received some comfort from the meeting, although he then heard of the death of the new born child whom he had left behind near Salalang.* Subsequently by royal order, Hakím's troops escorted him through the Khaibar and rendered joyful by the safety of his son Hasan who now joined him, crossed the Indus. He was welcomed with respect by the Amírs and reached Fathpúr Síkrí, 2nd June, 1585. Sulaimán meantime was restored by Muhammad Hakím to the government of the Laghmánat and betook himself thither "where he wearily counted the days in heartless desire to regain his own Badakhshán." Hakím at length in pity gave him a small force with which he endeavoured to capture Talikan. Success seemed about to be his when Abul Múmin, ('Abdullah's son) came in from Balkh and Sulaimán's men were outnumbered and defeated. After various vicissitudes, he too, as will he told, took refuge with Akbár.

23rd Dch. 993 H.

It is not the romance of a motley life of adventure

* Of him Abul Fazl says, The rose of his life passed away ungathered. Trs.

which lends interest to this episode of the two Timurids of Badakhshán: it is the fact that political incapacity and inner dissensions make the historical crisis. The existence of Sulaimán and Sháhrukh was a misery to their people. Every ambitious ruler, whether a narrow hearted and cold 'Abdullah or a magnanimous and genial Akbar must be led to contemplate the supersession of such rulers, because he feels that he himself represents a sovereignty of a so much higher order.

It has been said that Hakím supported Sulaimán and Mán Singh gave Sháhrukh escort through the Khaibar. If in the beginning, their help was independent, matters could hardly have been carried through without royal assent for who could tell that 'Abdullah would not see in the aid rendered, a *casus belli*. It is highly characteristic, that Abul Fazl should here forsake his annalistic method and forestall events by announcing,—before proceeding to record the adventures of the two Mírzás—that in the hour of danger Muhammad Hakím awoke from the "sleep of indifference," and, having heard that 'Abdullah had taken Badakhshán, sent to Akbar for assistance. To this supplication the emperor replied that as the fugitive "princes were now receiving the "punishment due to their ingratitude, Muhammad "Hakím should glorify himself with the inner and "outer splendour of fidelity." He went on to promise in the first place, to despatch an embassy to Badakhshán, manifestly hoping to set a bound to 'Abdullah's conquests by diplomacy, and, if this

should fail, to follow it by an army sent to Kábul "fully equipped and with a sum of treasure, under "an able general." Akbar's envoys had hardly set out for Kábul when other messengers arrived to tell him that the two fugitives had taken refuge with Muhammad Hakím and that the latter requested instructions as to their disposal, in reply to which the emperor ordered that they should be honourably treated and despatched to Court.

Sulaimán received a *mançab* of Six Thousand and a few years later died in Láhor at the age of 77. Sháhrukh entered Akbar's service and in 1592 was married to one of Akbar's daughters, Shukrunnisá Begum, and made governor of Malwah. He distinguished himself in the conquest of the Dak'hin towards the end of the reign and was made a commander of Seven Thousand and as such served Jahángír.*

1001 H.

Abul Fazl omits mention of nothing which is characteristic of Akbar and in connection with Sháhrukh's welcome to Fathpúr Síkrí, tells us that "every "one of his wandering and faithful adherents who "had with him drunk the bitter draughts of distress, "reaped with him also abundant joy from the muni- "ficence of the royal hand." To reward fidelity was in Akbar a work of the heart, for he honoured all loyalty even when not shewn to himself.

It is clear that the reception of Sháhrukh and the completed conquest of Badakhshán (1584) must have created a state of

Early in 992 H.

* Elliot V, 447 and 455. Trs.

severe tension between the two great rival powers, and equally clear that the emperor's consultations on 6th August 1585 with the Khán-khánán were connected with foreign policy. Into the midst of these consultations which probably concerned both 'Abdullah and the affairs of the Dak'hin, dropped the news of Muhammad Hakím's death. A prompt decision on action was necessary, for together with the intelligence of the death had come other which aroused anxiety. At this crisis Abul Fazl rightly describes the "vigilant and protecting care of the Sovereign" as "an iron fortress and a heavenly coat of mail to the "faithful."*

993 H.

30th July 1585 H.

12th Shaban 993 H.

There was in Kábul a Túránian party amongst the nobles which sought to subserve their ambitious designs by means of the young princes, Kaiqubád and Afrásiáb. Presumably they were incited by 'Abdullah and wished under pretext of fighting for the independence of the princes, to play the country into his hands. The emperor at once despatched envoys to frustrate and by promises of amnesty to win back, those who had moved for change. Kunwar Mán Singh received a similar commission with the addition of the command to take a small force with him from Láhor.

The emperor, as has been said, began his march from Fathpúr Síkrí in the night of 2nd August 1585. The following table (though incomplete) shows the general order of the

11th Shariur 993 H.

* It has seemed best to defer in the translation the insertion of a Dak'hin episode in order to avoid confusion and correct a chronological slip. Trs.

journey which was one of 4 months and a day, 610 miles (305 Kosses) and 65 marches from Fathpúr Síkrí to Aṭak Banáras.

Fathpúr Síkrí.	11th. Shariúr 993 H.	23rd August 1585.
Saráiábád.	22nd. Shariúr.	30th. September.
Dihlí	31st. Shariúr.	12th. September.
Sanpat		
Pánípat		
Tháneswar	13th. Mihr.	26th. September.
Sháhábád		
Ambala		
Sirhind	18th. Mihr.	1st. October.
Sutlej (crossed)	24th. Mihr.	7th. October.
at Máchíwárah		Rested at Dahakatár.
Hadiabagh		
Jálindhar		
Sultánpúr.		
Biah (crossed)	1st. Aban.	14th. October.
at Jelálábád		
Kalánúr	6th. Aban.	19th. October.
Siálkot & Chenab	14th. Aban.	27th. October.
Rasúlpúr on the Bahat	24th. Aban.	6th. November.
Bahat (Jhelam) (crossed)	27th. Aban.	9th. November.
Rohṭás	7th. Azar.	19th. November.
Ráwalpindí	25th. Azar.	7th. December.
Hasan Abdál	2nd. Deh 993 H.	13th. December.
Aṭak Banáras	12th. Deh 994 H.	23rd. December.

From Fathpúr the emperor travelled without halting to Dihlí where he visited his father's tomb and the shrines of the saints and celebrated the 'Id. In Tháneswar he heard further details about the disaffection of the Kábulís and from there sent on Mír Çadr Jahán Muftí and Bandah 'Alí Haidání, an Afghán who

had once served Muhammad Hakím, with instructions to use every persuasion to win back the discontended leaders. From Akbar's procedure it is clear that it was a matter of moment for him to prevent and for 'Abdullah to effect interference in Kábulístán. In Sirhínd, the emperor encamped in the "beautiful "garden of the city whose delights are sung through-"out the world." Here he heard that Ráná Partáb, who some time before had descended from his fastnesses and ravaged Ajmír, had had his camp plundered by Jagannáth (son of Bihárí Mall), had fled before the royal troops into Gujrát and thence again to the shelter of the Ajmír Hills. When encamped on the Sutlej, intelligence arrived that a part of Mán Singh's force had entered Pasháwar which had been deserted by Sháh Beg, an officer of Muhammad Hakím, and that the Afghán tribes were coming in to him by crowds. The Sutlej was crossed at Máchíwárah, the place of Humáyún's good fortune and the Biah at Jalálábád. In Kalánúr is again disclosed somewhat of plans of which more will be heard later. An embassy was despatched from this place, under Hakím 'Ālí Gílání and Baháuddín Kambú to Yúsuf, King of Kashmír with instructions either to bring the king in person to Akbar's presence or to persuade him to send back his son, Ya'qúb who had fled from the army under apprehension of danger.

In Rohṭás orders were given to Qásim Khán, the builder of Agrah Fort and a man skilled in military engineering, to go forward and level the inequalities of the road from that place to the Indus and thence

through the Khaibar so that all might become passable for wheeled traffic.

A halt of a fortnight was made in Rohṭás, and on the 17th November, Akbar was delighted by the arrival of his mother, Marayam Makání. Abul Fazl says that her great love for her son would not allow her to remain at the capital separated from him and that she therefore joined him now in the field. She had truly made a weary journey to satisfy her affection for she must, at the youngest, have been nearing her sixtieth year.

11th Azar.

In Rohṭás, many of the commanders gave it as their opinion that the emperor should not go further. Possibly, for Abul Fazl puts this announcement subsequent to the coming of the Empress-Mother, Marayam Makání may have had something to do with the formation of this opinion. She must have heard what Nizámuddín had heard in Gujrát,* apparently on the authority of Mírzá 'Abdurrahím, that Akbar was intent on the conquest of Badakhshán and she may have known that the military movement embraced operations in Kashmír. She would naturally be opposed to her son's advance into kingdoms so remote and unfamiliar.

Abul Fazl's words do not seem to imply objection on the part of the army to further advance and this reading is borne out by the fact that four divisions moved within a few days of the halt at Rohṭás, to Kashmír, to Swat, to Kábul and to Balúchístán respectively. If objection existed other than that per-

* Elliot V, 443. Trs.

sonal to the emperor, it is possible that it concerned Badakhshán. That a project for its conquest was in Akbar's mind is tolerably clear from the fact recorded by Nizámuddín that Mírzá Khán had heard it and, son of a Badakhshí himself, had asked leave to join the royal army. Badáoní likewise mentions it.* Moreover it is improbable, being the man he was, that Akbar should willingly let go to his rival a country which had been a Timurid's appanage since the days of Bábar. Knowing with some probability that the conquest of Badakhshán was intended and knowing that it was not attempted, there is ground for attributing the objection to further advance, whether personal or general, to disinclination to move against Badakhshán. The emperor possibly gave more heed to any such objection after the reversal of his arms in Swat, a direct road to Badakhshán, and after the death of Bír Bal than before and the plan was not attempted. It is remotely possible moreover that such nobles as had built for themselves palaces in Fathpúr Síkrí would view with disfavour extended operations in a quarter which would oblige the transfer (such as actually took place a few years later) of the centre of government to the North-West.†

* Lowe 373. Trs.

† *Apropos* of possible objection to advance beyond the Indus on the part of Rájpúts, Tod tells a really naif little story. It cannot belong to this time for Mán Singh was in Kábul before Akbar was in Rohtás and his troops had crossed the Indus in 1581; not to speak of several earlier recorded transits by Hindú soldiery. Here however is the story. When Mán Singh "was commanded to reduce the revolted province of Kábul, he hesitated "to cross the Indus, the Rubicon of the Hindús and which they term Atak or "the Barrier, as being the limit between their faith and the "barbarian." On

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Whatever the grounds and extent of the opposition to advance they were overcome, for the march moved onwards. The camp had been pitched in Rohṭás on 19th November and was again pitched in Ráwalpindí on 7th December. The somewhat lengthened stay of a fortnight in Rohṭás may have been due to discussion on the plan of the campaign but was more probably induced by the necessity of giving Qásim Khán time to accomplish his work on the roads.*

7th Azar.

25th Azar.

In Ráwalpindí, the emperor heard that his prompt action and politic clemency towards the Kábulí malcontents had yielded fruit, for Mán Singh had succeeded in obtaining the submission of their most formidable man, Farídún the maternal uncle of Muhammad

"the Hindú prince assigning this as a reason for his not leading the Rájpúts "to the snowy Caucasus, the acomplished Akbar sent him a couplet in the "dialect of Rájástán:

"Sub hi bhum Gopal Ka!	"The whole earth is of God
"Jis main Aṭak kaha;	"In which he has placed the Aṭak
"Jis ka munh main Aṭak hai,	"The mind which admits impediments
"So ain Aṭak hoega."	"Will always find an Aṭak."

"This delicate irony succeeded when stronger language would have failed." (Tod's Rájástán I, 336).

It is certainly credible that Rájpúts should object on caste grounds to crossing the Indus and it is well known that Hindús will die rather than lose caste. Is it therefore to be supposed that a *bon-mot* such as this should have exercised such trenchant influence? If Akbar had made a joke and thereby carried a point, would Abul Fazl have remained silent? It would seem pretty clear that the Rájpút troops can never seriously have objected to cross the Indus for no *bon-mot* of the emperor and no command of their leader would have induced them to set aside religious scruples if these had existed. Trs.

* Ráwalpindí is some fifty miles from Rohṭás and the latter place would therefore have to be left not later than 21st Azar to allow of making the journey by 25th Azar. Trs.

Hakím and who had been just on the point of escaping with his two nephews to Túrán when Mán Singh set foot in Kábul. Finding himself helpless he brought the two princes, boys of 14 and 11 years, to Mán Singh who (at the time when Akbar was in Rohṭás) left the city of Kábul in charge of his son Jagat and him in charge of Shamsuddín Khawáfi and set out with the princes and Farídún to meet the emperor. They joined his camp at Ráwalpindí and the Kábulís were received with royal generosity. Farídún came out of the matter not well but better than his deserts warranted for after being placed under the supervision of Zain Khán Kokah, he was, on 26th December 1855, despatched on a compulsory pilgrimage to Makkah.

15th Deh 994 H.

By 13th December 1585, the army reached Hasan Abdál where it was met by the embassy returning from Kashmír which brought word that the Kashmírí nobles would neither allow Yusúf Sháh nor his son to come to the emperor's presence. Here Akbar opened the war or rather wars for he spread his army fan-fashion and, apparently on the same day, 20th December 1585, despatched four divisions towards four destinations. One moved for Kashmír under Sháhrukh of Badakhshán, Bhagwán Dás and that Sháh Qulí Mahram who had taken the wounded Hemú prisoner; a second set forth against the Yúsufzaí and was led by Zain Khán Kokah whose father was Maryam Makání's faithful attendant in the flight of Humáyún; a third under Mán Singh marched for Kábul with orders to

2nd Deh 993 H.

9th Deh 994 H.

chastise the Tájíks who infested the Khaibar; while a fourth under Ismá'íl Qulí, a nephew of Bairám Khán, and Rái Rái Singh Ráthorí had in view the subjection of the Balúchís.

On 24th December 1585, the emperor himself arrived at Aṭak Banáras and there remained three months and twelve days.

12th Deh 994 H.

Before pursuing the movements of the several divisions, let us glance at Akbar himself. Taking these various military movements in conjunction with the fact that the march to the North-West was directed entirely against Túrán, there remains no doubt that at the least, he designed a magnificent display of power for the purpose of scaring 'Abdullah from Kábul. He had put his forces in motion because there was ferment in Kábul and he apprehended attack from Túrán. Whatever may have been his earlier wish, he did not now go in person towards the Túránian frontier but sent forward Mán Singh to whom he gave the government of Kábul. A pencil of armed rays stretched from his own halting-place in Hasan Abdál, to the east, the north-west, the west and the south-west but not one of these was to touch the Túránian frontier. From this Akbar held back as though he had no end in view which concerned it: this was the semblance of his military demonstration and the semblance he desired to preserve.

CHAPTER V.

*The Raushánís.**

Akbar's Túránian policy fixed the time but was not the primary cause of his contest with the Afgháns. When 'Abdullah Khán's growing power drew his attention to the north-west, there flowed in Afghánístán a tide of religious and national movement so strong that he was compelled to check its course, if he hoped to avert a formidable attack by Túrán. For more than twenty-five years, the new religious organization of the Raushánís had striven to establish among the Afgháns, a spiritual authority which should obviate that excess of force, of crude effort after independence, and of tribal division which made effective resistance to the Mughuls difficult. Over tribes which are politically backward and are jealous as to their equality, that chief will most easily rise to headship who seems, if not himself a God yet, at least, God's prophet.

There is the more temptation to penetrate the motive ideas of the Raushánís in spite of great *lacunæ* in available authorities, because their creed sprang from the same Çúfic and Shí'ah soil which, at a later date, yielded Akbar's variety of *Oneness with Deity*. Closely related however, as are the elements of the Raushání and Dín i Iláhí creeds, there are numerous points of divergence between their founders.

The emperor Akbar, a man of tranquil nerves, is in

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI, 363*ff*. On the Raushánian sect and its Founder. Leyden.

the beginning for his own satisfaction, theologian and philosopher, but ends by creating a religious system in furtherance of his primary aim, the governance and inter-conciliation of mutually antagonistic races. In so doing, he borrows from all the creeds, so that stepping beyond all, he may give to all a point of union in the person of the sovereign, the symbol of the State. The aim of Akbar's intolerance being beneficent and conciliatory, it touches only temporal and political things: his creed is tolerant and magnanimous.

Báyazíd Raushâní is at once fanatical dreamer, enthusiast, and philosopher: he possesses nothing, but he desires to acquire everything in order to bless all men. Attracting and saving souls, he aims first at unification of creed by divinely absolute power. In small communities which are isolated by political immaturity only, and not by religious ideas, he tries to promote union by oneness of faith, to the end that by the help of the patriotism thus awakened, he may ensure universal acceptance of his creed. Even in this narrow field, his victory is politically and spiritually incomplete. If it had been otherwise however, his principle would have been inadequate for the circumstances of Hindústán. To the struggle after political union, unbending energy gives a success which eludes effort at enforced spiritual assimilation. As a religious founder, Báyazíd was a thorough specialist while Akbar, for his happiness, was a *dilettante*. For this reason, the belief in Akbar's divinity died out sooner than that in the Raushání. In Afghánístán, as well as in the mountains of Kurdistán, Farsístán and other parts of Central

Asia, the differences between the settled peasants and townsmen of valley and plain, and the herdsmen of hill and dale, who exchange summer pastures for frequently distant winter-quarters, are for the most part, those of origin. In Afghánistán, the Tájíks, the widely diffused class of agriculturists, are descendants of Persians whom the Arabs subdued, while the majority of the mountain nomads belong to Afghán tribes. These nomads, owing to their mode of life, have been from time immemorial rude, restless, and warlike, and have opposed their pride and their passion for freedom to all constituted authority with feeling as strong as that with which the Tájíks have desired a protection so indispensable to their occupations,—a desire which has made of the latter pliant subjects of the Turkí lords of the plains. Like their rulers, they clung tenaciously to the Sunní faith of their fathers: only the Persians—importers from 'Írán of literary culture—are Shí'ahs, and even they are permitted by their principles to conform, under stress of need, to Sunní forms. It was in a country thus orthodox that there grew up, in a family in which zeal for the faith was traditional, the man who, upon principles diametrically opposed to Sunní theism, attempted to establish a national creed, but one also which claimed universal acceptance. Far outstripping Shí'ah doctrine, the teaching of Báyazíd resembles to identity that of gnostic Islám—that is, that of the Ismá'ílites.

Báyazíd Ançárí* was, it is true, not born in Af-

* Ançárí means a helper and was specially applied to an inhabitant of Medina. See Wilson's Glossary. Trs.

ghánístán but at Jálindhar in the Panjáb and about a year before the overthrow by Bábar of the Afghán sovereignty. Restoration of Afghán dominion, and overthrow of the Mughuls, may therefore well have been a dream of the coming Prophet. Báyazíd's mother's name was Bánín; her father and her husband's grandfather were brothers and resided in Jálindhar while her husband 'Abdullah lived in Kánígúram, in the Afghán hill-country, between the Gomal and Kúram tributaries of the Indus. Kánígúram first became Báyazíd's home when the power of the Mughuls began to prevail and his mother went there to her husband. "'Abdullah had no affection for "Bánín and at last divorced her; and Miyán Báyazíd "suffered great hardships, from the enmity of a step-"mother and of her son, named Ya'qúb, besides the "neglect of his father."* Neglected by his orthodox and learned father, Báyazíd went his own way. He was lifted above the narrowness of family pride by a susceptible heart and by circumstances favouring his bias towards speculation. "Here are the heavens and "the earth but where is God?" he once asked. Báyazíd hoped to obtain the knowledge he sought from an obscure kinsman, Shaikh Ismá'íl whose austere asceticism and godly illumination had attracted him, but his father, in the pride of kinship with descendants and namesakes of Shaikh Baháuddín Zakariyá, a renowed theologian of the twelfth century, said to him "It is a disgrace to me that you should become the

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI, 407. On the Raushánian sect and its Founder. Leyden. Trs.

"disciple of the meanest of your relations: go and "attend the sons of Shaikh Baháuddín Zakariyá." Either this, or the necessity of earning his bread, drove Báyazíd afield.

The instance of Muhammad shows how favourable a wandering trade is to the incubation of world-girdling thoughts. Báyazíd adopted that of a travelling horse-dealer, an occupation which must have yielded varied nutriment to his inquisitive mind. Once, when on his way from Samarqand to Hindústán, and at Kálinjar, a town lying to the west of Alláhábád and in Bundelkhand, he made acquaintance with Mullá Sulaimán and became his disciple. Mullá Sulaimán was called a *Malhid*, a term of which the first meaning is an Ismá'ílite, but which also conveys the wider sense of an ultra-Shí'ah. From Akhún Darwezah, our authority on this point and Báyazíd's most ardent Sunní opponent, there cannot be expected better discrimination between the two creeds, but such fragmentary sources as are at our command shew that Báyazíd's creed rested on Ismá'ílitic principles. This agrees with an account given by Akhún Darwezah's spiritual cousin Badáoní of some members of a sect of Iláhís* consisting of Shaikhs and their disciples who were
989 H. brought before the emperor in 1581 and who, judging from the date and the circumstances, may well have been Raushánís.

Let us briefly set forth the tenets of the Ismá'ílitic

* Blochmann, 191.

confession.* The Sunní creed rests for justification on Muhammad's incomparable position as a man together with the Qorán as the word of God. All further decision as to matters of faith it submits, not to any individual but to the concurrence of all the faithful who have ample knowledge of tradition. In this it follows Muhammad's spirit which conceived, as the one sole link between God and man, the creed of submission to the divine law. It was not a political principle only but also a religious one which induced the Shí'ahs to advocate the theory of the transmission of the succession to Muhammad through his daughter Fatima to the 'Alídæ.

The holy spirit of the prophet, passing on through generation to generation, created an authority which was infallible not only in spiritual matters but also in temporal. The unity of the divine kingdom on earth, when withdrawn from erudite discussion, seemed assured by this means only, and by this too seemed best guaranteed the certainty of living in closest harmony with the divine will. The tendency to seek for a real and spirit-stirring presence of supernatural divinity, in an earthly and perfect leader of the theocracy, comes out in the teachings of even the moderate Shí'ahs who honour the eleven 'Alídæ, the Imáms of the past, together with the Mahdí, as the twelfth and coming fulfiller of God's kingdom. This *gnosis* emerges in a less tolerant but

* Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale. Guyard. XXII, 117*ff.*—Exposé de la religion des Druses. De Sacy. Paris 1838.—Die Drusen und ihre Vorlaeufer. P. Wolff. Leipzig, 1845.

more logical form, in the third century of the Hijra, the time of Muhammadan renascence when its theology came into contact with Greek and Roman philosophy. The outlet of Trinitarianism had been cut off by Muhammad; what besides Pantheism could draw down the Creator to the creature or raise the latter to the exalted One? and what was more easy than Pantheism which is the final result of that doctrine of Oneness which the *Sunna* makes the *alpha* and *omega* of its system? The ideas contained in the Enneads of Plotinus which under the name of Aristotle's Theology, transmitted this conception of the universe in its most complete form to the Moslim world, entered into two combinations with Islám when made current by the Mu'tazilís—first with the Muhammadan ritúal (*askesis*) and secondly with the doctrine of the propagation of the divine spirit of the prophet in the 'Alídæ.

'Abdallah Qaddah who, in the middle of the ninth century, developed the Ismá'ilitic sect, based his *gnostic* entirely on the dogma that nothing exists but God, a Being whose attributes are incognizable and from whom there is efflux of the universal all-Reason; (*All-Vernunft*) and of the primal elements, time and space. Back to this attributeless Deity there is refluence from individual existences, which are the products of his emanations but weakened and dimmed by distance from their source. This return of the sparks of reason after amalgamation with matter, to the pure all-Reason which is the first emanation of God, is facilitated by

864 A.D.
250 H.

an indispensable approach from both sides, first from the all-Reason and secondly from the soul of the world (*Welt-seele*). Corresponding to this gradation, first the souls of Divine Incarnations absorb the full force of the all-Reason, then those of the Prophets whom the first enlighten, and so, in descending measure, the souls of apostles and emissaries of prophets. As in men and with similar systematic gradation, these same spiritual powers dwell in celestial phenomena; first, in sunlight, secondly in rain. These indwellings of celestial bodies are further particularized and this especially by the Nuçairís.

The point which gives this doctrine its potent political influence is that these metaphysical incarnations are manifested in definite historical personages, epoch after epoch and man after man. The recognition and proclamation of such divinely-inspired men and, above all, of the Mahdí—the last and in whose illuminated circle the living epoch falls—links the enlightened discoverer to discoverers of past times. He and he only becomes the indispensable co-adjutor in the *apokatastasis* of souls otherwise imperfectly revealed. Such co-adjutor was that 'Abdallah Qaddah who proclaimed Ismá'íl, the Imám of the 'Alís, an incarnation of Deity and such were other discoverers of other Mahdís.

Here is the decisive point. The exponents of this theosophy adopt from Islám without reserve, the doctrine of the inseparableness of religious and political headship. What follows? In place of Muhammad's absolute subjection to a distant deity—an equally absolute subjection to a human head who, prototype

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and copy of Muhammad's arbitrary God enslaves at once body and soul. Abul Qásim's theocracy might be illogical in its intolerance because it places all men, even the Prince, on an equality before God; but not so the pantheocracy of the extreme Shí'ahs, which lures men to become Gods upon earth and of which moreover the professors were of necessity always in arms; for their principles inculcated hatred of non-believers as men who levelled themselves to the beasts. It was a creed welcome to such as the self-sufficiency and homely monotony of the Sunní ritual had chilled and to moody, fantastic and passionate souls. It was guarded from aberration to polytheism by its dogma that nothing was to be revered otherwise than as related to the basis of the universe. How could men such as the confessors of this creed—men who placed their redeeming justification in faith and the spiritual uplifting of the heart—have been so abhorrent in manners and morality as their Sunní adversaries—who always posed as the party of order—would have it thought? The moral principles promulgated in their communes and, according to the testimony of European travellers, carried out into practice by the Ismá'ílites and cognate sects, such as the Jazidís, permit a different opinion.

To bring these doctrines into harmony with the Qorán and tradition, from whose historical *milieu* their advocates could not free themselves, there was developed, as in Çúfísm, the wide-reaching doctrine of a double sense of the divine word; one sense real, exoteric and penetrable only by higher insight; the

other exoteric and adapted to the speech and understanding of less developed intellects. Such a system is apt to lead to results the more disingenuous and violent as the plain sense of the scriptures is crude and repellant to minds which desire higher knowledge. Nevertheless, this grading of the worth of the word was but a counterpart of the gradation of the Kosmos. What the lowest rank of spiritual aspirants holds for perfected truth, passes on the step above for out-worn: thus all conceptions of positive belief are rapidly dissipated by higher; ritual and ordinance, paradise and hell retain a subjective but lose their objective reality. In the human heart therefore body and soul are, as it were, spitted on the needle point of the all-reasoning divine Being; if thou knowest this, thou knowest thyself; so wilt thou know God and canst withdraw thyself to Him as thy centre. Such knowledge issues not from the chill source of the intellect but from the glow of ecstacy. To it, ascetic practices conduce: these can be learned only from a leader who is more forward on the road to God and learned only by traversing the path prescribed by him—a path which by the intermediacy of historical incarnations leads and ever has led from the primal source—God.

Granting that the above summary gives somewhat of the colour of the doctrine which the Mullá of Kalínjar disclosed to the youthful Báyazíd, there was for its comprehension one way only open to the Sunní—namely that through the Çúfísm which had already penetrated orthodox Islám. Çúfísm like ultra Shí'ism

partakers of the pantheistic psychology and kosmology of Plotinus which in the ninth century A.D. gave form to the contemplative *askesis*—the practice of divine contemplation—which had earlier developed on the Christian model and which made conceivable the union of a devotee in ecstacy with God through immanency of God in nature. Although the variety of Çúfism which orthodox practice adopted, *e. g.* that of the Ghazzalí, preferred to regard this divine immanency as partial, temporary and revocable, the reversion of the more freely thinking theosophists to Pantheism was as inevitable as it was logical. In fact the existing fragments of Báyazíd's Halnámah, the book of ecstacy, in which he describes the course of his spiritual development, show that his conviction of his prophetic calling sprang from his belief in his ecstatic union with God and that this ecstacy was attained by meditations which differ in little but name from the " Seven Valleys " of Fariduddin' Attar.

Báyazíd returned from Kalínjar to Kánígúrám and there in the solitude of a mountain cave which he fashioned, devoted himself to spiritual exercises. Amongst these, there were included, even so early in his career, those eight degrees which he enjoined on his first disciples and later, on his commune.*

1. Law—*Shar'iyat.*—The external observance of the five Moslim principles : "pronouncing the profession of faith ; stated prayers ; religious fasting ; *haj* or pilgrimage ; *zacat* or stated alms."

2. Method—*Tariqat.*—"The performing the cir-

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI, 411. Leyden.

"cuit of the house of God, to wit, the heart, and "warring with the natural inclinations, and performing obedience to the angels." Besides this was reckoned in *Ṭariqat* alms to religious mendicants, performers of fasts and assistance to the helpless."

3. Truth—*Haqíqat.*—"To remain constantly meditating on Almighty God; to believe firmly in the "instruction which has been received; to remove the "veil of whatever exists besides God from the heart, "and to fix the view on the charms of the object of "celestial affection."

4. Knowledge—*Má'rifat.* "To view the divine "Nature with the eye of the heart; to see him on "every side, face to face, in every mansion, with the "light of the understanding and to injure no creature "of the all-Just."

5. Proximity—*Qarbat.*—"To know the all-Just "and comprehend the mystic sound of the beads in "reciting the rosary; and to understand the import "of the divine names."

6. Union.—*Waṣlat.*—"To choose the renunciation "of self and to do every thing in the divine essence; "to exhibit abstraction from superfluous objects and "to be convinced of the divine union."

7. Oneness with God.—*Tauḥid.*—"To lose individuality in deity absolute and in surviving to become "absolute, and to be united with the unity and to be "delivered from evil."

8. Indwelling in God—*Sakúnat.*—"The indwelling "and being resided in, the assuming the attributes of "the deity absolute and renouncing a person's own

"attributes." "Beyond this, there is no superior "degree."

The first of this series, the *Sunna*, Báyazíd had scrupulously observed while he was yet under the age permitted for pilgrimage to Makkah. From this latter duty, his new doctrine of Oneness with Deity absolved him. What first drew upon him the enmity of his Sunní surroundings was his placing the inspirations of his own ecstatic visions—as being the ever rejuvenescent manifestation of Deity—above the authority of Islám, as though this were a tradition dimmed by the mist of time. Moreover he set before other young ascetics his own example as a goal to be striven for.

As a boy it had not sufficed him to guard his own fields of grain, he had watched those of neighbours also; now as a youth, he would have gathered millions to his heart: he longed to show to all the path out of the wilderness of ignorance which he had himself discovered. His impetuosity did not permit him to find repose in contemplation but urged him to attack the blindness, error and obscurity of the *Sunna*. Opponents who desired to restrain him from this agitation, suggested "Báyazíd, since you allege that you "have received the order of God Almighty, say, if "you please, Gabriel visits me and I am 'Mahdi,' "but term not the people votaries of error and infidels."

What need had Báyazíd of the archangel whom the uninitated believed to visit him?—Báyazíd with whom God was—a fact so much the worse for undis-

cerning opponents. How if he were to treat also as atheists those whom in the Muhammadan sense of the word, he reviled as unfaithful?

Although his aims when in Kúníguram may have been purely spiritual—(his career is not fully known) the distinction he drew between external observance and inward religion was sufficient to cause his expulsion from the town. To the Wazíris of that district, such Hindústani freethinking was altogether repugnant. Báyazíd's measure of enmity brimmed over when his father became angered for faith's sake. Shaikh 'Abdullah repaired to his son's cell and there wounded him with a sword. It would seem moreover that he extracted a promise of return repentant to the bosom of the *Sunna*. But Báyazíd's defiance matched 'Abdullah's bigotry and his wound had barely scarred when he effected his Hijra to Nangrahár. Nangrahár is a region which gained praise from Bábar for its delightful fertility. It lies on the north-eastern slopes of the Safad Koh and is traversed by numerous affluents of the Surkháb, which itself falls into the Kábul river above Jalálábád. It includes also all the mountains and vallies which lie round Jalálábád, between the Surkháb and Battikoṭ, on the right bank of the Kábul river.

Filled with astonishment at the profound and spiritual views of Báyazíd, Sultán Ahmad, the chief of the Mohmands, gave the fugitive welcome. Báyazíd preached with great success as a Mullá to the Afgháns, but as time went on, the orthodox Tájík clergy made life so bitter to him that he set his feet further

eastwards into the plain of Pasháwar. In the north-east of this plain and on the right bank of the river, dwelt the Gharihél Afgháns and, further to the north a cognate tribe of Khalíls. On the left bank and in the rice famed district of Háshtnagar dwelt the Mahmúdzaís. Amongst these inhabitants of Pushtúnkha (Pushtú land), as the Afgháns chose to call their latest conquest, Báyazíd obtained more success and here attracted stable adherence. He established himself and his sons at Kaledér, amongst the Omarzaís, a Háshtnagar clan. It must have been after obtaining a firm footing here that he took the decisive step which transformed him from the head of a body of peaceful, if heretical ascetics, into the chief of a pantheocracy; and which impressed his Çufísm with the stamp of ultra Shí'ism. Persecuted by the Tájíks, welcomed by the Afgháns, zealous for the spread of his redeeming faith and hating his Sunní oppressors—was more needed to arouse a conviction that forcible conversion was justified and even commanded? After all, as what did his creed regard his persecutors? they were to Báyazíd bestial defacements of Godward-tending humanity.

To the spiritual head of degenerate souls the disunion of the Afghán tribes must assuredly have appeared a highly unwelcome hindrance to the formation of a religious community. Was it not compulsory on his aspiring spirit—a spirit as spontaneous as it was self-conscious—to make its influence also politically valid by leaguing and uniting the nomad tribes? Was he not the more forced to take their material,

interests under his protection that the interests of the loyal peasantry who opposed him were one and the same with those of his adversaries in faith? These antagonisms and his own unresting propaganda augmented the Pír's following: he became at once the spiritual and political leader of his sect, precisely as Muhammad and the captains of the Ismá'ílites had been.

It may be presumed that during this period of exciting missionary activity, Báyazíd Ançárí's zealous fastings and austerities, working with his naturally nervous constitution, procured for him increasingly frequent revelations. His growing success and exaltation convinced him that he was a vessel of a higher order of discernment—one who frees from the burden of the fulfillment of the law, from the anguish of the tortures of hell and from mortal suffering.

Not according to the promise of the Qorán, but in mystic union did he behold God. He was commanded to proclaim—"I have seen thee, being with thee: "I have known thee, being with thee." From such inner exaltations sprang his certainty of his Oneness with God. The more frequent their recurrence, the stronger grew his conviction that he was the representative of God—a focus of emanations of the all-fulfilling divine reason. In this sense he named himself eternal and the light. His disciples called him Pír i Ráushán, a title which may be rendered "apostle of light" and they were themselves called Raushání, the *illuminati*. In this is unmistakeable the influence of ideas which were dominant not only among the Ismá'í-

lites but to a greater extent in Syria among the Nuçairís, a sect which also rose to notice in the ninth century. These describe light as the veil of the highest intelligence. Of this intelligence, which they declare identical with the spirit of Muhammad, they place the seat in the sun. Moreover they term their sacramental wine in which also dwells the light of reason, the slave of the light.* Báyazíd again touches Nuçairí symbolism when he describes the law as night; the second grade of his religious exercises,—the means of attaining goodness—as the stars; the third—truth—as the moon; and knowledge obtained through the heart as the sun.†

We nevertheless know nothing more definite of the kosmology of this preacher of Oneness. He shared the doctrine of Plotinus, the Ismá'ílites and the Çúfís that God is all and that beyond him nothing exists. "God, he said, "remains concealed in the human nature like "salt in water."‡ Hence issues the spiritual—the breath of life—and from the spiritual and solely as its attribute, the material. Thus, "God is the same in all "his creatures and the soul of all."

Báyazíd's teaching was distinguished from pure Çufísm which admits the union of God and man only in rare moments of ecstacy, by the permanence of his sense of Oneness with Deity. His creed approached more nearly to that of the Ismá'ílites. He more-

* See Wolff in Zeitschreibungen der deutschen morgenländischen Geschichte III, 307. § 82 ff.

† Asiatic Researches XI, 411 and Huart, Journ. As. VII ser. XIV, 197.

‡ Asiatic Researches, XI, 379 ff.

over inscribed on the signet which he used in his divine capacity the words which the Moslim uses of God; "Glory to thee, the King, the Creator; who hast distinguished the world of light from that of fire. Báyazíd "Ançárí."

The world of light consisted of his *illuminati*: the world of fire, of demons and non-Raushánís. Here was the counterpart of the imperial signet which bore *Alláhu Akbar*; a counterpart but with a distinction to be drawn: Báyazíd's feeling of parity with God welled up with the resistless overflow of his heart; Akbar's was a slow growth from the soil of inherited sovereignty and the sense of personal superiority, from courtly flattery, political calculation and generous-hearted philanthropy. The Pír used a second seal in his capacity of a prophet, of a mirror of light for seekers after salvation and of the herald and interpreter of God. This seal bore the words; "The humble Báyazíd, the guide of those who err." Following the example of the frequently mentioned *Malhids*, Báyazíd may be presumed to have taught that light becomes reincarnate though perhaps with diminished lustre; this is suggested by the fact that his successors continued to use his two seals and to represent themselves as "one with Báyazíd and the self same spirit."

Báyazíd's view of his relation to the earlier prophets is less clear than Akbar's, of whom it is certain that at least for a time, he believed himself the direct and greater successor of Christ; the accounts given by Padre Fernaõ Guerriero, S. J., are too definite to allow any doubt to be based on the silence of the 20th

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Ain.* "At length he so much honoured Christ "and our dear Lady, that he sealed all letters and "edicts, whether to Moors, heathen or Christians, inside "with his customary royal signet but outside with "the image of Christ and Mary. For he has an in-"strument like golden pincers, on each side of which "is set an emerald as large as the thumb nail. On "these two stones are engraved both images ; these "he presses on the Turkish wax with which he closes "the two ends of the letter."†

The seal which was seen only after breaking the one which bore the image of Christ, was doubtless that engraved with *Alláhu Akbar, jalla jalálulu.* The sealing-wax image of Christ merely guarded the diplomatic secret of a letter, the signet which declared Akbar God, gave the letter authenticity. The idea of a climax rising from Christ to Akbar is too clearly manifested for further words to be needed. In the way in which Akbar regarded Christ, Báyazíd will have regarded Muhammad—as God incarnate—and himself as the incarnation next in time and equal, if not greater in rank.

Báyazíd Ançarí gave to the Qorán an inner, mystic and pantheistic meaning. For this reason, the book of revelation in which God spoke to him as He did to Muhammad in the Qorán, is called *Khair al*

* Blochmann 52. Trs.

† Relaçam annal das covsas qve ficeramos padres de companhia de Jesvs, as partes da India Oriental etc. Em Lisboa: impresso por Pedro Crasbeek Anno MDCXI. Liuro primeiro cap. VI, 15. Comp. the German translation "Indianische Newe Relation" etc. printed in Augsburg by Chrysostomo Dabertzhofer, A. D. MDCXIII of which the extract in the text gives the tenor

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Bían—the excellence of explanation.* In accordance with the manifold languages of the country and his claim to be the prophet of all peoples, he disseminated this new Qorán in Afghán, Persian, Hindí and Arabic. In his imitation of Muhammad's book he had moreover Ismá'ílitic forerunners. The words attributed by Badáoní,† to the sectaries whom he designates Iláhís, accord with the distinction between esoteric and exoteric interpretation as well as with the sensuous imagery of language which Akhún Darwázah attributes to the Pushtú prophet. These Iláhís said: "Repentance is our maid" and had "invented similar names "for the laws and religious commands of the Islám "and for the fast."

From Kaledér, Báyazíd addressed circular letters in the following terms: "Come unto me, for I am a "perfect Pír; whoever lays hold of the skirt of my "garment shall obtain salvation, and whoever does not, "shall utterly perish." How could rude, energetic and passionate mountaineers, unaccustomed to underlay with deeper meaning the aridity of the *Sunna*, resist such living conviction and an eloquence which glowed in such manifold colours?

In conformity with his eight grades of knowledge, the Pír divided his disciples into eight classes; *Khalwat*. At head of these he himself stood, the enlightened one to whom every confidence of the heart was owing, the final arbiter between good and evil. Pírs of fitting gifts headed each lower class. So much

* Asiatic Researches, XI, 379. Trs.

† Blochmann 191. Comp. The Druses. Wolff, 329.

Akhún Darwázah allows us to understand. Instruction was adapted to the different degrees or classes and for each of the eight were special formularies and teachers.* Báyazíd believed that a worldly wise man "(*ákel*) before man is living, but before God, dead: "that his form is like the form of a man, but his "qualities those of a brute beast: whereas an *aárif*- "or enlightened man, is living before God; while his "form is like the form of man and his qualities like "the qualities of the merciful God."† He was, however, far from abrogating the moral duties of the external law, the fulfilment of which indeed he regarded as an indispensable preparation for the higher grades of knowledge.

According to the testimony of the impartial *Dábistán*, he set his commune an example of chastity and of propriety of conduct and never permitted the plundering and oppression of the faithful. In all his dealings he was scrupulously just, thus harmonizing with the idea of Muhammad's perfection cherished by Sunnís. The divine attribute of justice finds frequent mention in records of his teachings.‡ As a matter of fact, the Sunní conception of an arbitrary and Omnipotent God cannot harmonize with a system of graduated effluence. When taken in connection with this system, other colour than that of conscious attempt at moral laxity is given to a

* Asiatic Researches, XI, 377. *So too among the Ismá'ílites.* Wolff. l. c. 167ff.

† As. Researches XI, 411.

‡ Dábistán. Shea and Troyers' translation III, 36.

point which was a great offence to the orthodox. Báyazíd allowed the higher grades of his disciples free social intercourse with women. It is not to be wondered at that there were ascribed to him the enormities of the "extinguishers of the lamp" of Kurdistán. This accusation, however, was not made by his contemporaries and the same blame has been laid with no better warrant on other Antinomian sects.

Amongst Báyazíd's innovations was an increase in the number of genuflexions used in prayer, a latitude as to the direction towards which the worshipper should turn—for the heart is the *Ka'bah*—and the abolition of ceremonial ablutions.* It is characteristic that like others before his day,† he substituted for the difficult duty of the fast of the Ramzán a fast of ten‡ days in early spring. How the customary restraints worked on Afghán morality can be said as little as what was the result of the abrogation of the duties of a lower grade of knowledge on admission to a higher. This latter arrangement which was Çúfíc no less than ultra Shí'itic, gave to his opponents opportunity for censure. We have no cause to join in this censure: it is possible to suppose that an ideally-fashioned system of classes could exist without detriment to morality, if one presuppose men quick with Báyazíd's ideality; a presupposition which certainly demands that a man promoted should be worthy

* Asiatic Researches XI, 374, 414. Trs.

† The Druses, Wolff, 220.

‡ As. Researches XI, 391. Trs.

of the higher class. Whether however, the necessary control could be effected amongst rude and proud mountaineers, must be admitted doubtful.

In one of his treatises, Báyazíd enjoins his followers to spare even the smallest insect because the just conception of Deity commands that the 18,000 species of creatures numbered by the Muhammadan kosmology should be regarded as one's own body.* The same injunction was laid on disciples of the fourth stage of knowledge—*ma'rifat.* What must these have thought when they saw members of the higher grades do what was forbidden to themselves? In the present instance, there was question of what a healthy man is always indisposed to deny himself, namely, the use of meat. If such abstinence was really practiced it is allowable to suppose either that the grade of disciples on whom it was enjoined was one in which membership was brief, or that the prohibition was, as has been usual, disregarded—not even the strictest of Christian orders having been able to secure its complete observance. Possibly the accounts given are inaccurate and the prohibition was not intended to touch necessary nutriment. This prohibition can be reconciled with injunctions entirely contradictory to it in the following manner. Whosoever sets his soul towards reunion with God from whom it issued, may take on any animal or human form soever, in order finally through the last to become participant of Deity. If therefore a Raushání spares at one time and kills at another, he does both in order to promote

* Asiatic Researches XI, 379, 380.

union with God of the creature spared or killed: to him a day of death is a day of birth in the sense in which a Christian celebrates the *dies natalis*. This double edged doctrine, cast amongst a wild and active people, who led no tame vegetarian life in the sultry plains but breathed the keen and appetizing mountain air, must have exercised a fateful influence to the range of which it is difficult to set a bound.

Báyazíd's creed, like Islám, draws a hard and fast line between faith and infidelity and an unbeliever is abandoned to eternal destruction. To a new creed and to one which like others that have taught Oneness with Deity, it was of vital importance to emulate the intolerance of Muhammadanism. Báyazíd said, "Whoever knows not himself and knows not God, is "not a man: and if he be harmful, he is to be reckon-"ed a wolf, a tiger, a serpent or a scorpion: and the "Arabian prophet has said 'kill a harmful creature "'before it causes harm.' If, however, such a person "be of good conduct and a performer of *Namáz*, (*re-"citation of prayer*) then he is to be considered as an "ox or a sheep and the killing of such a creature is "lawful."*

Bayázíd therefore ordered that the most obstinate of his enemies should be killed like brute beasts and he countenanced plunder and robbery from unbelievers amongst whom he included both Hindús and Moslims, although better disposed to the first than to the Túrkí Sunnís. Unbelievers will not know themselves: will not trouble themselves about their everlasting exis-

* As. Researches 414. Trs.

tence; they are therefore dead and it is in the order of things that the living should heir the dead. He prohibited beggary by declaring it unlawful.

In order to relieve his commune from the burden of the beggars whom the Sunna had in no small degree favoured, Báyazíd declared for unlawful, food obtained by begging and sent out his beggars to obtain subsistence for themselves by robbery from infidels, Tájíks and travellers on the Khaibar. Akhun Darwázah* observes that Báyazíd's purpose in prohibiting beggary was to compel his followers to collect themselves into a body and this observation is justified by historical fact but he omits to adduce for Báyazíd's plan the authority of Muhammad's procedure with the Bedouins.

Like Muhammad, Báyazíd and his sons established a general treasury, reserving for it one-fifth of the booty taken and apportioning this as seemed to them good. In this outgrowth of Báyazíd's teaching, we see a result of the savageness of the ground on which he cast his seed. He was one man in his mountain cell and under his father's sword; another as leader of Pushtú clans.

It would seem that he did not attain to the delivery of unbelievers as a prey without strife and conflict of soul. Three times he received the divine command to kill those who knew not God, before he put his hand to his sword; but "when it had been "repeatedly received, being devoid of resource, he girt "up his loins for the religious war."

* As. Researches XI, 377. Trs.

Báyazíd had it is true, made on the path of the Almighty some lesser expeditions from Kaleder and had by these drawn on himself the attention of Muhammad Hakím's government in Kábul. His progress alarmed the Sunnís of Bunhár, the high land to the north of Hashtnagar and which is Yúsufzái country here touching the Indus. Coming from Bunhár, the celebrated theologian Shaikh Sá'id Tirmizí and his disciple Akhún Darwázah entered into discussion with Báyazíd. Their joint endeavours cannot have been so fruitless as has been thought; there must be some truth in Akhún Darwázah's ascription to himself of the credit of preserving the great Yúsufzaí clan from tbe Raushání doctrine.* For although the Yúsufzaí were at one time known as energetic supporters of Báyazíd, the influence of the Sunna amongst them contributed to make them after his death, deadly opponents of the Pushtú league.

By order of the Kábul government, Muhsin Khán Ghází entered the Mahmúdzaí country and took Báyazíd prisoner. In the first instance he was led through the streets of Kábul with dishonour, but was subsequently permitted to be examined by the 'Ulamás of the court. He adroitly contrived to set forth that he had always conformed to the ritual observances of religion and had made no innovations, and by his learning and his ability extorted the admiration of the court theologians. These having, like Akbar's environment, breathed the breath of Çúfísm,

* Asiatic Researches XI, 367.

rejected the warnings of orthodox Hotspurs and would anticipate no political danger from Báyazíd. Freed at their intercession, he forthwith sought a new theatre for his divine mission in the inaccessible mountains of Teráh, the eastern spurs of the Safad Koh which reach to Kóhat in the south-west of the Pasháwar plain down to which they send the Teráh river. The proximity of the Gharbah Khail who were the Raushánís of the plain, is worthy of note. Teráh is occupied by the Bangash tribe of the Afgháns, amongst whom the Tótai are to this day, says Leyden, notorious for their attachment to the Raushání sect.* In its lofty mountain valleys, Báyazíd could feel greater security than in the open country of Hashtnagar. Here the fruit of his galling Kábul experience ripened into fanatical resolve to use all his powers to inflame Pushtú feeling against the *Sunna* and at the same time against Mughul supremacy.

Having succeeded in attaching the independent hill-people and animating them with enthusiasm for his doctrine and having moreover made some successful lesser raids, he preached a general religious war:

> "Come my friends," said he, "and I will advise you.
> "I will lay hand on the scymitar and destroy the religion of the Prophet.
> "Place your full confidence in me, if you would please God.
> "For I am your God, even I myself; regard me as the Prophet, I am in no respect deficient:
> "Regard me as Mahdí, I am in no sense defective:
> "I am the true and sufficient guide: hold this for certain."†

* Asiatic Researches, XI, 387. Trs.

† l. c. 389, Trs.

The allusion to the Mahdí who should destroy anti-Christ and anti-Muhammad was suited to the time, the opening of the second half of the century which closed the first chiliad after the Hijra. By exciting at once hatred for the tyranny of the Chagátáïs and greed for booty, Báyazíd set before his followers Hindústán and its emperor. In advance he partitioned the different provinces of the empire and he entered upon unremitting preparations for general war. To raise a strong force of cavalry, he requisitioned horses and to console their owners promised doubled prices from the wealth of Hindústán. He demanded implicit obedience: woe to the traitor! Disregarding his orders, the Afgháns of Teráh maintained friendly relation with the Mughuls. "Báyazíd having discovered this determined to inflict "on them a dreadful vengeance. But as the moun-"taineers were brave and courageous, he practised on "them the following stratagem. After expressing "some dissatisfaction with their conduct, he said; 'If "'you would recover my favour, you must all of you "'appear before me, one by one, with your hands "'bound, in order that I may myself release you.' "Báyazíd had practised so many mystical and sym-"bolical ceremonies that the mountaineers were in-"duced to comply with his order. * * * They "appeared before him, severally, with their hands "bound, and three hundred of them he caused to be "put to instant death and laid the district so desolate, "that it never returned into the possession of the "original inhabitants but passed into the hands of

"another race of mountaineers."* Did Muhammad deal otherwise with the Jews of Medina? This terrorism yielded the richest results, for it brought adherents.

The Kábul Government was not uninformed of Báyazíd's preparations and was on its guard. The Pír in considerable force, descended towards the north into the plain of Nangrahár and burned the town of Bárá. He was slowly marching back into the hills when Muhsin Khán Ghází overtook his rear near Torrága. The prophet did all in his power to induce his followers to make a stand and declared that he should no sooner set eyes on Muhsin Khán than that chief would fall from his horse. A stand was made but "no sooner did they feel the "sharpness of the sabre of Misr and hear its whiz-"zing stroke descend, than their irregular bands "were thrown into confusion and by the impe-"tuosity of the onset of the Mughul cavalry who "charged in mass, they were quickly dispersed."† Báyazíd himself escaped with much difficulty and made good his retreat into Háshtnagar. Here at Shérpai, the wearing fatigues, thirst and exposure which he had endured brought on a fever which put an end to his life. He was buried in Háshtnagar, the land of his earliest successes and as it would seem, in the town of Bhattakpúr.

The light of the Raushánís was not, however, quenched with Báyazíd's brilliant intellect—an intelect which extorted the admiration of even his bitterest

* As. Researches XI, 390. † l. c. 391.

opponents—but was destined to shine on down to the days of Sháh Jahán. Under Báyazíd's sons his following increased beyond the relatively small number of Pushtús whom he had himself drawn to his allegiance. Immediately after his death,* his eldest son Omar took sword in hand and having collected his adherents addressed them in the following terms: "Come on, my friends, your Pír is not dead but has "resigned his place to his son, Shaikh Omar, and con-"ferred on him and his followers the empire of the "whole world."

By unwearied exertions, Omar kindled anew the enthusiasm of the Pushtús and this especially by placing, after the expiration of a year and a day, his father's whitened bones in a shrine which, like the ark of the children of Israel, was borne before him in battle and on all other great occasions. A similar heathenish custom had before been practised by the Kaisání Mukhtár ibn Obaíd whose heretical hordes had followed a decorated chair given out as that of the Khalif 'Alí.

Omar's fiery zeal did not lack success until for some reason not clearly explained, he embroiled himself with the Yúsufzaí who thenceforth from warmest partisans became bitterest enemies. This powerful nomad clan occupied broad lands in the mountains to the north of the Kábul river and stretching west from the Indus. They included the districts of Banhár, Swád, Panjkórah, Waijúr, Dúdér and Chécch Hazárah as far as the Kunar river which debouches below

* Asiatic Researches, XI, 393. Trs.

Jalálábád. The eastern Yúsufzaí attacked Omar at Bárá, on the Indus, defeated him and killed both him and his brother Khairuddín. They burned Omar's body to ashes and threw the bones of Báyazíd into the Indus. Núruddín, another of Báyazíd's sons, escaped to Hashtnagar but was subsequently slain by the Gújars, a non-Afghán tribe of buffalo herdsmen. Only the youngest son, Jaláluddín survived, a prisoner with the Yúsufzaí.

In 1581 and when the emperor was at Láhor on his return from his Kábul campaign, this
980 H. highly gifted boy, then almost fourteen years of age, was brought before him after having been surrendered at his request by the Yúsufzaí.

To Akbar the destruction of the Raushání league could not but be desirable: hardly so however, the growth of Yúsufzaí power. It was presumably important at this time, to make an enemy for the Yúsufzaí among the Pushtús, for the greater the disunion among the robbers' clans, the safer the passage of the Khaibar. Jaláluddín Raushání was therefore well treated but his rude pride and insolence did not answer to the expectations of the emperor; he took flight on the first opportunity and reappeared in Teráh, that ever safest retreat for Raushánís. Not unworthy of the spirit and example of his father, Jaláluddín, acting from Teráh united the Bangash, Afrídí and Urakzaí clans into terrible foes of the Mughuls on the Khaibar route. Mockery more hostile than witty made Sunní theologians and also Akbar himself call Jaláluddín from this time

forth, Jalálah-i-Taríkí, the obscurant. He was, however, to become a torch of terror of which many a man of Akbar's was to feel the flame. He stimulated the self-confidence of his adherents so far that he assumed the title of Padsháh of the Pushtús and summoned levies for a religious war against Hindústán.

982 H. So early as 1584, he hastened to the assistance of the Mahmand and Gharbah Khail tribes 'who have ten thousand homes near Pasháwar' and who were suffering oppression at the hands of a man named Músá whom the then jágírdar of Pasháwar, Sai'íd Hámidi Bukhárí had left there in charge Sa'i'd Hámíd himself was attacked in Bigrám and eventually defeated and killed with forty of his relations and clients.*

In the year of Muhammad Hakím's death, opposition to the Mughuls became more united on both sides of the Kábul river. The results were however, indecisive. If Jalálah Taríkí had been successful in leaguing the various Yúsufzaí clans an independent Pushtúnkha might have remained no dream but as the campaigns about to be described will show, no such union was effected.

* Blochmann, 397. Trs

CHAPTER VI.

The Afghán War.

The region in which the teaching of the Raushání and the defiance of a predatory people now opposed the emperor, included the plain of Pasháwar and the mountain lands of Swád, Bijor, the Mohmands and Teráh which, encircling it except for the few miles where it touches the Indus, give it the semblance of a gigantic horse shoe. The plain affords to an army a convenient and in parts fruitful field. Its low-lying tracts, notably of Dáúdzaí and Dóaba, are of prodigious fertility and corn crops alternate with luxuriant pastures. They combine with the productive soil of tropical India many of the advantages of temperate countries. Their villages and, above all, the suburbs of Pasháwar were probably as now, girdled by veritable groves of fruit trees—the vine, the fig, the plum, apricot, mulberry, peach and quince producing abundant crops. The plain is watered by the Kábul river and its affluents and was in Akbar's reign about one-tenth of the territory of the Afgháns.

1584.
993 H.

Apart from its productiveness, the plain of Pasháwar had for the rulers of India the special importance of being traversed by the highway between Western Asia and Hindústán. All India's conquerors, since

the days of Alexander had crossed it, and now in 1584,
993 H. Jalálah, the new Afghán "Emperor", was threatening to do likewise.

Since midsummer, he had been master of Teráh and the part of the plain which one may describe as the *tête de pont* of the Indus transit at Aṭak. The Yúsufzaí tribe dominated the northern portion of the plain and the fruitful villages of Swád and Bijor—these last being lands which bestowed on their denizens not only subsistence but the protection of natural fortresses. The Yúsufzaí had given Bábar trouble and he had completely failed to reduce them; now, under Akbar there was no diminution in their self-importance, their pride and their defiant and democratic independence. They had long before quarrelled with the Raushánís and renounced the tenets of the sect* but it was nevertheless with them that Akbar commenced repressive operations, for through them danger threatened the empire. Who could tell what the land-lusting master of the art of fishing in troubled waters —what 'Abdullah Khán might do if the Yúsufzaí successfully carried fire and sword into the plains of Hindústán? If they were allowed to advance so far, might he not make such an agreement with them as should play Kábul into his hands, and, this effected, would he not likewise step forth as a champion of Islám and crossing the Indus annihilate his former allies (the Yúsufzaí) in India, approved of all whom Akbar's tolerance to Hindúism had alienated?

These questions must have obtruded themselves on

* Elphinstone, 450. Trs.

Akbar and his friends and to them, he gave reply by the despatch of Mán Singh against the tribes which infested the Khaibar and of Zain Khán against the Yúsufzaí, on 20th December, 1585.

9th Deh, 994 H.

It is now our task to follow the fortunes of the second of these expeditions. Its commander, Zain Khán was one of the more conspicuous of the *Mançabdárs*; he was a foster brother of the Emperor and his father, Khwájah Maqçúd of Harát, had been Maryam Makání's faithful attendant during Humáyún's flight into Persia. A man of some attainments, for he played several musical instruments and composed verse, he was a good representative of the lettered soldiery by whom Akbar loved to be surrounded. Although thus accomplished and also to a high degree self-denying, he seems to have been wanting in power to attract and dominate men of less energy but greater culture than his own and while blameless for the ill-conduct of the coming campaign, this inability to constrain his then fellow-commanders bore lamentable fruit.

In accordance with the *terrain*, the operations were divided into two undertakings, the reduction of the plain of Pasháwar and that of the mountain region. Zain Khán appears to have traversed the plain without much fighting, for so early as 13th January 1585, he sent Sa'íd Khán Gakk'har, Shaikh Faizí, "the chief of the poets," Shaikh Abul Barakát and others* with orders to

4th Bahman, 994 H.

* The two last named would seem to be Abul Fazl's brothers. If so, his account of the whole campaign gains double interest from the copiousness of

sweep the plains and join Kokultash in the mountains. On the day of the departure of this second force, lots were cast between Abul Fazl and the Rájah Bír Bar "to determine whether of the two "should conduct an expedition into Swád. The rájah "won the honour and set out on 21st January, while "the author sat down with his heart "pierced with the thorn of disappointment."*

12th Bahman.

It was fatal to the whole expedition that the emperor supplemented Zain Khán by forces under two men of no tried capacity in military matters, Bír Bar, a philosopher and Abul Fath a man of "vast attainments" in letters. Two ideas may have led him to commit this error. The first was clearly an inference drawn from himself; he could versify and philosophize and was yet a politician, a tactician and a strategist. He seems to have pre-supposed the same of his two favourites. The many-sidedness of the culture prevailing in his court sets this supposition in a light less unfavourable to his judgment than is otherwise inevitable. Mírzá 'Abdurrahím, the recently appointed Khán-Khánán, was a poet; Nizámuddín, a historian; Abul Fazl, author and philosopher, became díwán and subsequently led an army to the Dak'hin. Military rank was often merely titulary and occasionally bestowed on infant princes. Some-

his sources of information. Strength is added to the identification by the record in the Akbarnámah that when Abul Fazl said farewell to his brothers, the Emperor showed him affection by giving him an appointment in the Qur Khanah. Akbarnamah III, 476. Trs.)

* Akbarnámah, Chalmers II, 363.

times it was simply a mark of royal favour. From this follows the second motive which may have dictated Akbar's fatal choice of officers. He could subordinate himself to better informed persons, as is especially shewn in matters belonging to Todar Mall's department and he gave his favourites credit for equal self-effacement at critical moments.

To these motives for his choice of Bír Bar as a commander, it may possibly be allowed to add a third. When Akbar, during the operations against his half brother in Kábul despatched Nizámuddín Ahmad on his break-neck ride to effect communication between the van and his own head-quarters—was his wish merely to send forth a bold horseman or not rather a skilful penman and a man who could carry through a negociation with credit? Some such motive may in the present instance have drawn Bír Bar into the foreground. The rájah had certainly exercised much influence upon the emperor's religious speculation and had largely enjoyed his confidence. Acute as Akbar was in matters of religion and philosophy, he must have divined that there was opposed to him in the Raushánís, not only a rebel people but the embodiment of a religious idea. But he would by no means wage a religious war. Into such Zain Khán might possibly allow himself to be enticed, Bír Bar hardly. Magnanimity, humanity and tolerance tempted Akbar into a self-deception which as a man brings him near to our hearts.

The brief description of the country which we have

prefixed to this chapter enables us to understand Abul Fazl's narrative clearly.*

"The rájah advanced with admirable rapidity into "the plains, subdued all who opposed him and re-"moved those who submitted to other places. When "his army however, ascended the mountain passes, "the Afgháns rose in arms and fighting with the "greatest obstinacy, many were slain and many "taken prisoners. Still the appearance of the coun-"try was so intricate that they were compelled to "quit the defiles and returning to their former camp "in the plain to seek another entrance into the hills. "At the same time despatches were received from "Kokultash reporting that by the bounty of Allah, "the army had surmounted many frightful steeps "but that their fatigues were so great and the "Afgháns in such force in Teráh and Swád that it "was necessary that the latter should be reduced be-"fore any further progress could be made in Bijor. "A slight reinforcement however would, he repre-"sented, enable him to overcome all difficulties. Ac-"cordingly on 28th January a further body was sent "off under the command of Hakím "Abul Fath to reinforce Zain Kokah "and to march by way of the Balkand pass which "is the most direct road.

19th Bahman.

"Meanwhile, (*i. e.*, while awaiting reinforcement) "Zain Khán Kokah had reduced Bijor which contained "30,000 families of the Yúsufzaí tribe, and then en-"tered Swád, (which contained 40,000) overcame the

* Chalmers II, 364 ff.

"Afgháns in a battle and erected a fort at Jakdarah "which is in the centre of their country. He thence "attempted to make himself master of all the defiles "around, but the service being hard and his troops "fatigued by their rough and toilsome mountain as- "cents, he was compelled to demand a further rein- "forcement. His Majesty therefore directed the "rájah Bír Bar and Hakím Abul Fath to join him with their forces."

This was the beginning of the end, for dissensions at once broke out amongst the commanders. In this, while it can be said with certainty who was capable and who not, it is not so easy to fix the blame. Nizámuddín veils himself in a brevity which is akin to silence; Abul Fazl and Badáoní lay the whole blame on Bír Bar. But the emperor blamed also Abul Fath for insubordination and reprimanded him for it on his return from the disastrous campaign.* Essential points are clear from Abul Fazl's narrative which is here continued from the Chalmers M.S.

"The rájah was unfortunately on bad terms with "both his colleagues, dissensions began to show them- "selves among them after his junction, while the rájah "complained openly that he had been ordered to as- "cend mountains in company with one of his enemies "(the Hakím) to render assistance to Kokultash, "who was another. Kokultash met them both, how- "ever at the Balkand pass, and endeavouring by every "possible means to conciliate them, they proceeded "together to Jakdarah. Here also his forbearance

* Blochmann, 425. Trs.

"was put to the test by the rájah, who even refused an "invitation to an entertainment which he offered him. "But he submitted to all his ill humour and then "wisely endeavoured to persuade his colleagues either "to remain at Jakdarah and secure it against the "enemy's attacks, while he marched into the hills, or "to leave him there for its protection and take upon "themselves the chastisement of the mountaineers: "which, after all that had been done, might soon be "satisfactorily effected. But they were deaf to all "his persuasion, and, insisting on it that the imperial "instructions were to make a rapid progress through "the country and not to occupy it permanently, they "determined on advancing in one body and crushing "the enemy as they proceeded."

This manifestly misapprehended order shows what Akbar wished,—a great demonstration only which should break the power of the Afgháns, contribute to the safety of the Khaibar and above all impress the ruler of Túrán. This the two new commanders must have well known and for this very reason must also have known that the emperor would have thanked them for a deviation from his orders which would have led to the attainment of his aim. Zain Khán saw the matter with a soldier's eye. By following Abul Fazl further one perceives in his cautious style which would not blame but cannot wholly spare, that Abul Fath and Bír Bar regarded their position and responsibility not as soldiers but as courtiers.

"They were at the same time too much afraid of "the emperor's displeasure to leave him (Zain Khán)

"unassisted and return, which Kokultash prayed them "to do rather than rush upon certain ruin." Their lives hitherto had been cradled on the royal word; by this word they had seen fall many a mightier than they; it alone had made them feel Akbar's superiority in experience, opinion and reflection,—they therefore clung to it and thought it madness or sedition to depart from it. Akbar had made them commanders; they might therefore believe themselves fit for their post and vanity blinded perception which was already dazzled by the might of their sovereign; their destiny had to be fulfilled!

"They divided their army in the usual manner and "madly set out on 10th February for Karakar. On "the second day they reached the "foot of the pass, and it was determined that the advance should seize upon it, while "the main body should pitch in the valley at the foot "and proceed to occupy the heights on the following "day. But the advanced body had no sooner reached "the summit than finding some plunder and taking "some prisoners, they were followed tumultuously by "the others and Kokultash who commanded the rear "guard in the valley, being meantime attacked by "a body of the enemy, (who in turn plundered the "imperial stores) was compelled to follow.

2nd Isfandarmaz.

"He was much galled by the assailants, who "pressed upon him the whole night and the greater "part of the next day and were only repelled by his "invincible gallantry; losing no less than four of "their chiefs who fell by his own hand. The day

"following the army again advanced 12 miles, near "to Káhnpúr, but the ground became still more diffi- "cult and Kokultash again entreated them to halt, "and either prepare for battle where they were or "endeavour to procure a peace by the restoration of "the captives whom they had taken or finally to "occupy quietly their present post and demand fur- "ther orders from his Majesty. But fate had ordained "it otherwise and refusing to listen to these sugges- "tions they saw their advantage in what was in fact "their ruin. On 14th February they set out for the pass "of Balandrí, Kokultash prudently tak- "ing the rear guard, but they found the "pass so formidable and were so hotly repulsed by the "Afgháns that the attacking party were driven back, "and elephants, horses and men were mixed in a wild "confusion, while the Afgháns pursued and poured "down upon them on every side. A large number of "the army were slain, many of the bravest fell fight- "ing to the last, while a few only fled. Kokultash "valiantly determined to die on the ground but one "of his friends seized his rein and dragged him from "the field; he at length reached the camp on foot. "Here, however, the alarm of "the Afgháns" was "again given and the retreat was continued in the "darkness of the night, nearly 500 of the imperial "troops fell on this sad occasion, among the most "distinguished of whom was the Rájah Bír Bar."

6th Isfandarmaz.

The news of this reverse fell with terrible weight on the emperor who knew that the blame of defeat must rest on himself for his imprudent appointments

He had wished to give his favourites a chance of distinguishing themselves and so of justifying his favour: one only had escaped, the other, his nearest in religious belief and the man to whom he had clung in friendship—Bír Baṛ—was dead. Badáoní in speaking of the death of the rájah to whom he with justice attributed the emperor's sun-worship, gives vent to his spleen by remarking that Bír Baṛ had entered the pack of the dogs of hell.

All, Asiatics or Europeans, who knew Akbar, agree in admiring his amiable and even temper but all equally agree that in anger he was terrible. Such a nature would be stirred to its depths by sorrow and would taste its full bitterness. This was so now; at the news of the rájah's death he was overwhelmed with self-reproach and grief. For two days he secluded himself and took no food but was at length comforted in one point of his regret by a reflection which Badáoní thus introduces. 'His Majesty cared "for the death of no grandee more than for that of "Bír Baṛ. He said, 'Alas! they could not even get his "body out of the pass that it might be burned.' At "last he consoled himself with the thought that Bír "Baṛ was now free and independent of all earthly "fetters, and as the rays of the sun were sufficient "for him, there was no necessity that he should be "cleansed by fire."* Perhaps nowhere does the poetic and emotional side of Akbar's creed of the light come out so distinctly as in these indisputably authentic words. To him, all physical existence and

* Blochmann, 204.

decay were but means of purification for ascent into the one eternal Deity.

After two days of bitter grief, he regained self-command. He now shewed full prudence in selecting a general. As is usual after any reverse, Abul Fazl here says, that the emperor wished to take personal command and that he was with difficulty dissuaded from it by his faithful friends. That the emperor desired to emphasize the movements of this army is shewn by his giving the nominal command to prince Murád and associating with him a man who brooked no opposition—Rájah Todar Mall. This time the royal commission was for the "complete reduction to "obedience and submission of the Yúsufzaí" and "an "order was therefore issued to the troops to abstain "as much as possible from spilling blood and at the "same time all the prisoners who had been taken "were dismissed with presents of clothes and money."*

On one point, the rájah saw further into the affair than did his master and raised an objection to Murád's command. His objection and Akbar's reception of it allow a still more severe judgment on the two courtier generals who in opposition to Zain Khán had bound themselves slavishly to the letter of the royal order. Todar Mall, foreseeing that a crowd of courtiers would accompany Murád and possibly use their influence against his own better judgment set his face against Murád's appointment. He represented "that "it was only expedient to employ the illustrious "scions of royalty on the most important and distant

* Chalmers II, 375.

"enterprises; whereas one of the meaner servants of "the state would be fully adequate for the present occasion." Akbar understood the energetic and hard-headed rájah and yielded with good grace. It would clearly be with Todar Mall's concurrence that Kunwar Mán Singh was appointed to cooperate with himself.

The reverse had befallen the royal army on the night of 14th February 1586 and on the 17th, Todar Mall received orders to march, and crossed the Kábul river. On the same day, orders were transmitted to Zain Khán and Hakím Abul Fath to retire and join him. The plan of the new campaign resembled that of the first and was prosecuted with dash and vigour. In the first expedition the inhospitality of the mountains had served the Yúsufzaí as a weapon of defence but the new commanders turned its point and attacked with it.

6th Isfandarmaz, 994 H.

Mán Singh fortified himself at Ahund, on the Indus,* while Todar Mall established himself near the Lungur mountain which adjoins Swád. The rájah was shortly afterwards recalled in order to join an expedition to Kashmír but Ismá'íl Qulí, Mán Singh and Zain Khán, after 3 years labour, by repeated inroads and the erection of forts (T'hanahs) at length drove the Afghâns into the most inhospitable defiles where, wanting everything, they were compelled to submit.

Looking at 'Abdullah as the person with whom peace must be maintained, Akbar took for his precept

* ? Nabir. "A place where formerly stood a great city but now known by the name of Tool-i-khaky or the mound of Erith." Chalmers II, 378. Trs.

in all these north-western operations, *si vis pacem, para bellum.* Peace with Túrán was served by both the Afghán expedition and the conquest now undertaken, of Kashmír. So early as the emperor's arrival at Aṭak, his resolute attitude had taken effect on the Uzbaks. The ruler of Balkh, an Uzbak named Nazar Be, having quarrelled with 'Abdullah, set out to do homage to the emperor and he approached the Khaibar in company with an ambassador named Mír Quraish whom, says Abul Fazl, doubtless with some exaggeration of the terror of the ruler of Túrán, 'Abdullah had despatched when labouring under apprehension caused by Akbar's having bridged the Indus and made the pass practicable for wheeled carriages. "The gates of Balkh were constantly "kept closed and 'Abdullah Khán was brought to "assume the most submissive attitude. He therefore "despatched a Sayyid with presents of chosen steeds, "powerful camels, and swift mules; with wild animals "and choice furs with other rarities of his country "and then entrusted him with despatches solicitous of "amity." The ambassador and the deserting Uzbak governor came to the pass at the same time and when it was threatened by the Raushání Afgháns. The emperor, although it was not common for him to separate himself from his body-guard sent a body of Ahadís to escort the caravan, under Shaikh Faríd Bakhshí and Ahmad Beg Kábulí.

The Ahadís were, as their name indicates a picked troop.* Candidates for admission to their corps were

* Ahad—a single man because they were under the sovereign's immediate orders. Trs.

taken to the emperor who examined them. They were for the most part gentlemen and brought their own horses; many of them were in staff employ in the various offices, store-houses and imperial workshops; others were employed as adjutants and carriers of important orders. Badáoní mentions as one of his friends an Ahadí named Khwájah Ibráhím Husain and as he can hardly have been other than a Sunní, it appears that Akbar's disinclination to Islám did not prejudice his choice of Ahadís. A troop of these chosen men was now sent to escort the caravan with which was the Túránian ambassador and a battle was fought and won over the Raushánís by Mán Singh and the Ahadís under the eyes of the travellers. With new food for thought, Mír Quraish proceeded to the royal camp which he reached on the same day as the news of Mán Singh's victory and just when Akbar was in grief for the death of Bír Bar and the reversal of his arms. For some days, the emperor delayed to receive him and the ambassador, having leisure to observe the rapidity with which troops were being despatched against the Yúsufzaí and the energy with which the conquest of Kashmír was being pushed on, was doubtless able to decide that Kábul afforded no troubled water for the sport of his master. Abul Fazl says that the Mír seemed much affected by the neglect evinced by his non-reception and attributes his anxiety to shortness of means. "The emperor, therefore graci-"ously held a grand court on 28th February at which "he was granted an audience, his de-"spatches read and his gifts received."

20th Isfandarmaz.

CHAPTER VII.

Initiation of the Conquest of Kashmír.

The position of Mír Quraish was now more awkward than had been that of the ambassador of King Pyrrhus in the Roman camp. His desire was for immediate return to Túrán but permission was long delayed, apparently because the Emperor desired that he should witness the accomplishment of what since 1568, had been one of his own cherished projects, namely the conquest of Kashmír.

976 H.

The Mughul sovereigns of India had directed their attention to Kashmír so early in their line as Bábar who in 1525, had aided a certain Nazuk with troops to get possession of the throne.* Humáyún never lost sight of his father's Kashmírí policy, but the extraordinary vicissitudes of his career left its execution incomplete. In 1540, when a fugitive in Láhor, he was invited by certain Kashmírí nobles to effect the conquest of their country. Being unable to undertake the affair himself, he authorized his cousin, Haidar Mírzá to accept the invitation. Torn as the country was by dissensions, Haidar succeeded with only 4,000 men in expelling Nazuk. This Haidar Mírzá Doghlat was

932 H.

947 H.

* Firishtah. Briggs IV, 491. Trs.

Bábar's first cousin—their mothers having been sisters. He was distinguished as a soldier and in literature, and is best known to posterity as the author of the Tárikh i Rashídí. To him Kashmír owed eleven years of wise and able government with return of prosperity and happiness. Ten years he ruled as absolute king,
957 H. but in 1550 and although Humáyún was in exile, he had the *khutbah* read and coins struck in his cousin's name.* More than once he urged Humáyún to use Kashmír as a *point d'appui* for the recovery of Hindústán.† It is recorded,‡
957 H. that in 1550, he exchanged gifts of saffron and shawls against finest India muslins with the king of Dihlí (Salím Sháh). He was killed in the following year when in a night attack, supporting the authority of one of his lieutenants. The whole country hereupon relapsed into confusion and eventually some of the chiefs arranged an administration by partitioning the kingdom and setting up a nominal king, Nazuk. After a reign of two months, Nazuk was
959 H. deposed in favour of a relative, Ibráhím II, who was in turn deposed and blinded five months later. Ibráhím was followed by Ismá'íl who died two years after his accession; Ibráhím by Habíb who was deposed after a five years' reign by Ghází Khán Chak a leper who abdicated in favour
976 H. of his brother, Husain Khán. Husain Khán was reigning in 1568 at which date

* Blochmann, 461. Trs.

† Elliot V, 129 (Trs.) and Erskine's Bábar and Humáyún II, 366. ff.

‡ Firishtah. Briggs IV, 502.

an incident occurred that brought Kashmír into intimate relations with Akbar. Of this incident the following account is quoted from Firishtah.*

976 H.

"In the year 1568, Qází Habíb, a person of the Hanafí "persuasion, (*i. e.* a Sunní) after leaving "the great mosque on Friday, went to pay "his devotions at the tombs of some holy persons at the "foot of the Maran hills. On this occasion, one Yúsuf, "a person of the Shí'ah persuasion, being present, drew "his sword and wounded the Qází on the head. He le-"velled also another blow at the Qází, who, in endea-"vouring to save his head with his hand, had his fingers "cut off. This attack arose out of no other cause "than the animosity which existed between the two "sects. On this occasion, Mauláná Kamál, the Qází "of Siálkoṭ was present. Yúsuf, after wounding Qází "Hábib made his escape. The king, although of the "Shí'ah persuasion, sent persons to seize Yúsuf; and "he required several holy and learned men such as "Múlla Yúsuf, Múllá Fírúz and others to investigate "the matter and to award punishment according to "the law. It is related that these worthies said that it "was lawful to put Yúsuf to death. The Qází who was "wounded declared, that as he had not died of his "wounds, the law did not admit of the culprit being "executed. He was however, notwithstanding stoned "to death. About this time, a number of persons "of the Shí'ah sect arrived with Mírzá Muqím and "Mír Ya'qúb who came as ambassadors to Srínagar "from Akbar, Emperor of Dihlí. Husain Sháh caused

* Briggs IV, 517.

"his own tents to be pitched for them at Hírápúr; "and when they arrived there, he went forth to meet "and escort them. After which, embarking in boats "with the son of Husain Sháh, they proceeded in state "to the city of Srínagar. Husain Sháh did not go "in the boat but rode on horseback and prepared "the house of Husain Makrí for the reception of the "ambassadors. After some days, Mírzá Muqím, being "of the same persuasion as the assassin Yúsuf, required "of Husain Sháh that he should send those three "learned men who had pronounced the sentence of "death on the culprit to him; with which Husain "Sháh complied. Qází Zain, himself a Shí'ah, insisted "that the sentence pronounced by the persons by "whom Yúsuf had been tried was erroneous. The "judges said that they had not positively sentenced "Yúsuf to death, but declared that it was lawful to ex-"ecute a person convicted of the crime of which he was "found guilty. Mírzá Muqím now ordered the judges "into confinement, and made them over to Fath Khán. "Husain Sháh left the city and went in a boat to "Kaimraj; and Fath Khán, at the instance of Mírzá "Muqím, the Dihlí ambassador, caused the holy men "to be put to death; after which ropes were tied to "their feet and they were dragged through the streets "and markets of the town. Husain Sháh, on his "return, after presenting the Indian ambassadors with "some valuable presents for their master, sent his "daughter to be married to Akbar Padsháh and ac-"knowledged his supremacy. In the year

977 H. "1569, news arrived in Kashmír that the

"Emperor Akbar, on hearing of the conduct of his "ambassadors in Kashmír, ordered them to be publicly "executed at Ágrah, and as a token of his indignation "and horror at the conduct of Husain Sháh who had "sanctioned such a proceeding in his kingdom, he "refused to receive his daughter and sent her back "to Kashmír. This circumstance had such an effect "on the mind of Husain Sháh, that he was seized "with a violent illness and was soon rendered totally "unfit to transact public business. He shortly after "abdicated, in favour of his brother, 'Alí Sháh Chak."

In 1572, Akbar sent a second embassy, this time to 'Alí Sháh Chak, of which the "result "was that the Emperor was proclaimed "sovereign of Kashmír in the public prayers, and 'Alí "Sháh sent his niece, at Akbar's request, to be given "in marriage to Prince Salím.* Thus was the first step "made to an, at least nominal, recognition of the Em-"peror's supremacy. Six years later, 'Alí Sháh died "from hurts received by being violently thrown against "the pommel of his saddle during *chaugán* and was "succeeded by his son Yúsuf. Yúsuf's reign opened "with civil war; being defeated he fled from Kashmír "and went direct to the court of Dihlí and laid his peti-"tion at the feet of Akbar Padsháh." Akbar ordered Mán Singh and Sayyid Yúsuf Razawí to reinstate the fugitive which they effected without fighting in the

980 H.

* Briggs says this was probably that daughter of Husain Sháh whom Akbar three years before had thought it politic to send back to her father. IV, 523, *n.* Trs.

25th year. Some two years later, other
1580. envoys were deputed to Kashmír of whose
998 H. reception Firishtah thus speaks: "On their "arrival at Bárahmúlah they were met by Yúsuf Sháh "in person who, kissing the letter from Akbar Padsháh, "placed it on his head. After a short time, the ambassadors returned to Dihlí, accompanied by the "princes Haidar and Ya'qúb, the king's sons, to the "court of Akbar, where, having staid some time, they "returned to Kashmír." The first of these sons went into rebellion in 1582 and the second, in
990 H. 1584, was sent by his father with gifts to
992 H. the Emperor and as the courtly Firishtah expresses it, "had the honour of again paying his respects to Akbar Padsháh.* During the royal march in 1585 through the Panjáb, Ya'qúb who
993 H. was with the army, sent to warn his father that Akbar intended to "visit Kashmír"; then, apprehending danger to himself, fled to his own country.

As has been said, the emperor on 19th
6th Abán. October despatched to Yúsuf Sháh from Kalánúr, Hakím 'Alí Gílání and Baháuddin Kambú. It seems that Yúsuf was willing to proceed to the royal camp but his nobles threatened him with supersession by Yaq'úb if he left Kashmír. His non-fulfilment of the royal order however served Akbar as a plea for the operations which so well subserved his Túránian policy. The time of refusal was itself favourable—

* Blochmann, 479. Trs.

2nd–9th Deh. 993—4 H. 13th to 20th December, 1585—during the halt at Hasan Abdál.

The campaign against Kashmír had opened even before the arrival of Mír Quraish for, as we know, a troop had gone forth from Hasan Abdál under Sháhrúkh and Bhagwán Dás with a force estimated by Nizámuddín at 5,000. With them went Haidar Chak who in 1583, had attempted to invade Kashmír but had been defeated by the king his father, in person.* The story of the campaign is given as follows by Abul Fazl.† "When the royal "troops had been dismissed, as has been stated, for "the conquest of Kashmír, the commanders were "mainly desirous of effecting an entrance by the "Bhimbar pass, both as it was the most practicable "for the passage of large bodies of troops and from "the circumstance of the zamíndárs of the neighbour-"hood having declared themselves friendly to them, "and their plan was originally to ascend the steeps "as soon as the snows should break up. But, in order "that the chastisement of the audacious rebels might "no longer be delayed even while they flattered them-"selves with the vain prospect of the greatest safety, "the army was ordered immediately to enter Kashmír, "by the Pak'hlí pass where the snows were not so "prevalent. Yúsuf Khán, the ruler of Kashmír, had "meantime sent forward a body of excellent troops "to entrench themselves on the banks of the Nainsukh, "towards Bhimbar, and await the onset; and then

991 H.

* Briggs IV, 527—8. Chalmers II, 361. Elliot, 450.

† Chalmers II, 367*ff*. Trs.

"securely remained in entire ignorance of the advance "by the Pak'hlí pass until it was too late. He was "compelled to offer to repair to the presence, as a "means of saving his country and the imperial *Omras* "being distressed by the cold, the snows, and the want "of provisions acceded to his proposal, entertained "him with magnificent rejoicings and sent word to "the court of their intention of retiring with him "from Kashmír. His Majesty, however, though he ap- "proved of the proposed visit of Yúsuf and promised "that he should be treated with every mark of honour, "would not hear of the *Omras*' return with the army, "but insisted on their advancing and taking posses- "sion of the country as the best test of Yúsuf's "sincerity, after which he graciously engaged that it "should be again ceded into his hands as a tributary "province of the empire. The *Omras*, were therefore "compelled to proceed but the principal men of "Kashmír immediately raised Aulád Husain to the "chief command and prepared to defend their passes "and, being soon after joined by Ya'qúb, the son of "Yúsuf, he was proclaimed king and hostilities "commenced. Mádhú Singh (son of Rájah Bhagwán "Dás) however, at the head of an imperial band, "bravely gained the top of the pass, and the enemy "being put to flight, Ya'qúb shortly after sent to pro- "pose terms. He represented that their king was "already at the high court, and that there was no "longer any cause of war. He proposed that the "pulpits and the coins should be adorned with the "imperial name, and *darogahs* should be appointed by

"his Majesty to collect the dues of saffron, silk and "furs; on which conditions the troops were to be "withdrawn. And these terms, though they were not "altogether approved by his Majesty, still through "the pressing solicitations of Yúsuf, the king of Kash-"mír, and the kind consideration which he felt and "manifested both for his own troops and the people of "the country, they were accepted."

During these operations, the imperial arms had met with their reverse at the hands of the Yúsufzaí and new causes for anxiety had arisen. At this critical time, the Túránian embassy had arrived and was well ushered to the royal presence by its accompanying news of Mán Singh's victory in the Khaibar.

20th Isfandarmaz 994 H.

It was on 14th February 1586 that Mír Quraish was granted audience. Possibly the position of Kashmír affairs may have contributed to cause this delay.

The audience was speedily followed by the celebration of the New Year's festivities and additional pomp may well have marked the feast, for the higher the mood in Akbar's court, the greater the depression produced in 'Abdullah's by his ambassador's recital.

The festivities lasted 16 days and on the chief day,

19th Farwardin.

28th March, Yúsuf Sháh was brought before the Emperor by Sháhrukh and Bhagwán Dás, a scene doubtless witnessed by Mír Quraish.

When "Yúsuf was questioned as to the reasons "of his ingratitude and as he wisely abstained from "making any reply save that of shame and silence,

"his Majesty was compassionately inclined to re-"store Kashmír to him; but his counsellors urging "the necessity of his first achieving the entire sub-"jugation of the country before he took such a step, "the clear-sighted Emperor approved of their advice. "The rájah Todar Mall was therefore recalled from "Swád and nominated to this undertaking leaving "the suppression of the Afgháns to Kunwar Mán "Singh."*

The good arrangement of all this is shewn by the fact that on the next-day, 29th March, the camp at Aṭak was broken up.

20th Farwardin.

There the Emperor had spent three months and twelve days and of this halt Abul Fazl says† "Although "while here he passed part of his time in viewing the "iron works and manufactory of muskets; part of it in "shooting at a mark and was also engaged day and "night in affairs of state, his chief object was to "linger on the bank of the Indus, till the punishment "of the Yúsufzaí was completed and then march "for Kábul. But the dearness of provision for his "troops, the submission of the Túrán faction and "the entreaties of an ambassador from that country "now induced him to set out, on 20th Farwardin for "his return and on 15th Ardibihisht he "threw a bridge across the Bahat for his "return." The evidence above given of Akbar's interest in firearms explains the fact which has been noted elsewhere, that Indian arms were of better workmanship than those of contemporary Europe. The Emper-

29th March.

24th April.

* Chalmers II, 378. Trs.

† Chalmers II, 383. Trs.

or had now attained his objects; the Raushání power was crippled; the king of Kashmír a prisoner; the Túránian party in Kábul harmless; and 'Abdullah Khán impressed by a display of military strength. He therefore turned eastwards and moved for Láhor. When on the Bahat, intelligence was brought to him that Bhagwán Dás had, in an access of insanity, attempted suicide. He at once sent off two physicians, one Musalman, the other Hindú. The latter was selected by the sick man's friends to attend him and under his treatment the patient, after a lengthened illness, made recovery.

The incapacitation of Bhagwán Dás compelled a change of appointments. He had been supplying Mán Singh's place in Kábul* and now the latter was recalled from the Yúsufzaí country, relieved by Ismá'íl Qulí and sent again to Kábul.†

At about this time came news of the death of the notorious 'Arab Bahádur. From his castle in the hills of Bahraich, (Audh) he had long greatly troubled the people of the Kumaon Teraí. His end was ignominious for he was killed in a pit into which he had fallen when fleeing from some of Abul Fath's followers.‡

More important news came also from the Dak'hin frontier, details of which will be given in a later chapter.

Of Todar Mall, who having been recalled from Swád somewhere about the the beginning of April, was probably with the Emperor, little is heard§ but there are indications that he

End of Farwardin.

* Bloohmann 333. Trs.

† Elliot 453. Trs.

‡. Chalmers II, 384. Trs.

§ Bloohmann 479. Trs.

counselled an occupation of Kashmír. Akbar was only too ready to spare conquered princes—a clemency which had avenged itself in Gujrát—but Todar Mall never spared. If therefore, on his march to Láhor, the Emperor was busied with plans of conquest, the rájah's influence is hardly to be mistaken. Even before he reached the Chanáb, on May 15th, he desired to entrust Sháhrukh with the command of an army of occupation but this Sháhrukh declined, Abul Fazl* says, "because he was not inclined to the expedition and hankered for his native home." Todar Mall's wisdom may be traced also in Akbar's disregard of the "wish of the greater number of his friends that he should proceed direct to the capital." He decided to remain in the Panjáb until "Kábul and "Bijor should be tranquillized; Teráh and Bangash "cleared of the Tajíks; the countries of Tattah and "Kashmír conquered, and the province of Túrán also "invaded, should the enmity of the monarch call for "such a measure."† The Emperor entered Láhor on 25th May, and took up his residence at the house of Bhagwán Dás.

5th Khurdád.

15th Khurdád.

From Láhor, he watched the course of events; hearing of Ismá'íl Khán's success in the long task of the suppression of the Afghâns and of the less important movements of Çádiq Khán in the Sahwán country. He also despatched Qásim Khán Mír Bahr with a large army to Kashmír. It is of interest to learn that before so doing, he consulted astrologers who decided that invasion would effect a speedy con-

* Chalmers II, 385. Trs.

† Chalmers II, 385.

quest.* In the midst of wars, he did not lose sight of the wants of his people, for, as at this time, a scarcity prevailed throughout Dihlí and Alláhábád, he remitted one-sixth of the revenues.

During all these episodes, Mír Quraish was his companion, much against his own will and that of his master. In so detaining an ambassador, there was no breach made in international law for in Asia *congé* was assuredly not always granted in accordance with the wishes of the sender of an embassy. Akbar wished peace with 'Abdullah but he knew the character of his rival sufficiently well to see that it was labour lost if he did not assume an attitude of superiority and set before the eyes of the ambassador such power as should in recital destroy his master's taste for war. It was not until 23rd August that Mír Quraish was dismissed; his detention, as Abul Fazl says, having caused much grief to the ruler of Túrán. He was accompanied on the part of Akbar, by Hakím Humán, a brother of Abul Fath, who took "presents and a letter and moreover received orders "to ingratiate himself in every way in the prince's "favour and not to fail to acquaint himself with "the designs and feelings of great and small in "his country."† Abul Fazl, who conducted the correspondence with 'Abdullah gives a *précis* of the letter entrusted to Hakím Humán from which we see that Akbar brought even Constantinople into his north-western policy. It opens with a record of the imperial military successes and passes on to the

12th Shariur.

* Chalmers II, 387. Trs.

† Chalmers II, 387. Trs.

troubles in Persia from which Sháh 'Abbás was working himself free :—Persia had been invaded almost simultaneously by Túrks, Mughuls of the Golden Horde and Uzbaks; 'Abdullah Khán had taken Harát after a nine months' siege and there had been horrible bloodshed of which 'Abdul Múmin was the instrument. The policy of Túrán included alliance with Constantinople and partition of Persia with the Porte but shortly after the date of this letter, the Sultán, Murád III discreetly declined the alliance for 'Abdullah's successes had aroused his serious apprehensions and induced him to enter upon an agreement with Sháh 'Abbás in spite of sectarian differences.*

"In the imperial letter," says Abul Fazl, "His Majesty recited the triumphs and successes of his own "warriors, the defeat of his foes, and the extent of his "dominions; he then proceeded to state that he had "heard of the rebellion of some of the chiefs of 'Iráq "and he therefore intended to send one of his "illustrious sons to that quarter to the assistance of "the ruler, and as the Sháh of Rúm, forgetful of the "treaties and engagements of his father and "grandfather, had also invaded the dominions of the "king of 'Iráq and Khurásán in consequence of his "weakness and defenceless condition, and the Sháh "of Ervan had demanded his aid, he had likewise "some thoughts of following the young prince thither "in person. Should this be the case he expected "that the ruler of Túrán would in consequence of "the relations both of blood and amity which subsis-

* Malcolm's Persia, 339*ff*. Howorth's History of the Mongols II, 733*ff*.

"ted between them set out to meet him at a personal "and confidential interview on the borders of Khurásán "and there arrange what assistance might be required "to be rendered to the monarch of that country."*

Threat and bitter contempt veil themselves in this composition under the mask of oriental courtesy. Akbar was fully aware that 'Abdullah himself held Khurásán. The epitomized meaning of the letter is a warning against entering into any alliance against 'Iráq and Hindústán, a well-timed warning, for Mír Quraish could prove that Akbar was in a position to follow it with force To do this, however, was not included in his policy of armed peace, as the conclusion of the letter shows, from which 'Abdullah could gather that if he initiated nothing hostile to Akbar, Abkar would leave him free hand. "His Majesty consented to forgive the recent interference in Kábul and to accept "the apology which had been offered on that score."

Mír Quraish set out in time to avoid witnessing a great catastrophe. Eight days after his departure, "the rains set in, * * they fell in torrents for three "days and nights, * * a vast inundation came down "from the hills."† In the town of Sirhind the water lay three yards deep, two yards higher in the adjacent lands, the wall of the town was destroyed for 150 yards and much of the celebrated old garden ruined. Ten thousand houses were washed away and communications interrupted on all the roads. The Emperor did not allow this catastrophe to disturb his plans for the conquest of Kashmír. These were now

* Chalmers II, 358. Trs.

† Chalmers IV, 389.

favoured by occurrences in the country itself which forbad united opposition to an invader. Ya'qúb had allowed himself to be persuaded to assume the title of Sháh Isma'íl and to use Abul Fazl's words, "parched "up the hearts of his oppressed subjects. Neglecting "his earthly duties, he engaged also in religious "dissensions and the Shí'ah and Sunní disputes were "revived with violence throughout the country. Qází "Músá, an old leader of the Sunnís, was slain by the "adverse party and his property plundered. Shams-"uddín Chak placed himself at the head of the opposite "party and Ya'qúb also was in a posture of defiance "when the fame of the approach of the royal army "caused them to conclude a peace but Ya'qúb soon "forgot his promises and attacked and seized upon "his adversary."*

The news of these commotions awakened to no small degree the confidence of the imperialists. Qásim Khán had set out not without reflection, for the reduction of Kashmír was a serious matter if its passes were well defended. The imperial troops indeed, "giving heed to the bodings of the senseless had despaired," but they had no sooner crossed the Chanáb than by the light of the internal troubles in Kashmír, those "who possessed the knowledge of reading the future "from the forehead of the present, deciphered the "chapter of speedy coming victory." On

21st Shariur.

"1st September they crossed the pass of "Bhimbar, the zamíndár of which district soon after "joined the imperial army. Many other chiefs

* Chalmers II, 390*ff*. Trs.

"immediately came in and joyfully declared that "Ya'qúb had absconded and that the principal heads "of the country anxiously expected the approach of "the victorious troops. There were, they said, two "roads, one by Kabir Bal which was the most open "of the highways, the other by Pír Panjál. That "by Kabir Bal was taken and as the Kashmírís "further represented that a body of the chiefs of "the country awaited to assist them in the hills and "that the accumulation of the snows and the numbers "of the army would cause a great delay, a small body "under the command of Shaikh Ya'qúb-i-Kashmírí "and other leaders was by their recommendation sent "with a Kashmír noble in advance to conciliate the "people of the capital, while the main army was to "follow with all possible speed, there to cause the "drum of victory loudly to resound."

"They had no sooner gained the top of the Kabir "Bal pass however, than a very different state of "affairs appeared before them. A wall of four yards "in width and of two in height and large pieces of "timber of thirty yards in height, the branches of "which were intertwined with each other were pre-"pared to oppose them, and snow and rain descended "as if by enchantment on the stranger forces. Having "with difficulty made their way through the tortuous "windings of the mountain roads they halted at the "pass of Akrampal where many of their cattle died "from the severity of the cold and here also some of "the musketeers of the advanced party came wounded "to the camp."

"The advance on reaching the first pass of the "Kashmír territory found none of the native chiefs "awaiting them as had been promised. They asked "the attendant noble the reason of their absence "and he replied that they must have returned home "through the fear of Ya'qúb seizing the passes "that were behind them, in their absence; but mean-"while a body of Kashmíris under Dilwar Khán "came up and attacked them. Shaikh Ya'qúb fell "wounded from his horse and was carried off half "dead by one of his friends, and many of his people "had been killed when a sudden and tremendous "fall of rain dispersed the combatants. In fact, "Ya'qúb of Kashmír, elated beyond measure by the "capture of Shams Chak ventured to send forward "a number of his worthless followers to block up the "roads while he himself sat down in the capital to "prepare the implements of warfare. But disunion "crept in among his counsels. Haidar Chak, another "aspirant to the throne, happening to be in camp with "the royal army, Husain, his son, took post at Param "Kalla where he anxiously awaited his arrival; while "a large body of partisans declared that if he would "but escape and place himself at their head they "would instantly flock around him, bribe the intru-"ders to retire and give repose to Kashmír. Ya'qúb "fearing the result of this new division was advised "to release Shams Chak and Muhammad Bhat in "order that he might avail himself of the sagacity of "their counsel, but they had no sooner been released "than they left him and the party which had just

"declared for Husain, now gathered round Shams "Chak. The conduct of the treacherous foe was "no sooner known at Akrampal than the *amírs* "threw the Kashmírí envoys who were in camp "into prison and carefully watched over Haidar "Chak. A council was next held upon the steps "to be taken and the brave Qásim at length pre-"vailed upon all to advance. They were immediate-"ly afterwards visited by an envoy from Shams "with petitions for peace and insinuating allusions "to a treaty which had been concluded by him with "Sháhrukh Mírzá, but he was answered that now his "wiles would be unheeded and the imperial orders were "no less than that Kashmír should be entirely wrested "from the hands of the arrogant rebels. Shams "however, listened not to the words of wisdom and "the two armies met on 19th Mihr.

1st October.

"The onset was heavy but one of the "enemy's chiefs being slain they gave way and the "hand of providence soon completed the victory. "After their triumph, the advance of the royal army "encamped at the foot of the *ghat*, while the crest "of the pass was still prudently held by Qásim. "Yádgár Husain and another chief were then sent "on to Srínagar and on 24th Mihr the pulpits "were advanced in dignity by the grand

6th October.

"name of the Lord of the Crown. The "remainder of the army had reached to within 8 miles "of the city when Haidar Chak made his escape thither "and a slight uproar was the consequence. This was

"however soon quelled and on 23rd Abán
11th October "Qásím entered the capital with his head-"quarters and there celebrated his conquest with "rejoicings of every sort and degree."

Abul Fazl here recounts a ghost story which he must have found in some ancient chronicle and according to which this conquest of Kashmír was foretold by a *bráhmán* 900 years earlier. Its fulfilment delighted the Emperor beyond mesure. Before his age as Akbar was in so many ways, it cannot but appear strange to us that Abul Fazl here renews proof that he was in the matter of prophecy, a simple child of his century. He had, as we have said, consulted astrologers as to the issue of this campaign and he was now delighted that events had borne out what these had read in the stars.

Although Kashmír was for the moment in subjection to Qásim Khán, there was much wanting for the accomplishment of Akbar's wishes. Abul Fazl's narrative goes on: "Ya'qúb was enticed from his "hiding-place by a multitude of adherents and raised "the dust of revolt at Chandarkot, 14 miles from "Panjbararah. Mubárak Khán and Shaikh Daulat "hastened against him, when finding himself unequal "to an open contest, he sought for an opportunity to "surprise them. He was about to make an attempt "when some of his followers suggested that, as the "imperial chiefs at Srínagar would most probably feel "secure under cover of the advanced party, it would "be well to leave a small body in his front to keep "up the attention of Mubárak and to march secretly

"with his main force and take the city by surprise. "He accordingly passed by Sadywarah and on "the 8th Azár came at midnight upon
19th Nov. "the capital and many of the defenders "were slain in their sleep. Ya'qúb attacked the "great gate of the city, in defence of which Qásim "Khán and his chiefs performed prodigies of valour "after having first slain Haidar Chak who was "among them and of whom they were distrustful. "Another party of the Kashmíris had collected in "boats on the lake but these also were attacked by two "of the imperial chiefs and their leader slain. In "every direction the battle raged with fury and after "many blows, victory displayed the brightness of its "face and Ya'qúb fled towards the close of night to "Deo Budr. * * * From Deo Budr he was subsequent-"ly prevailed on to emerge by the plighted vows of the "troops of Kashmír and he again excited a rebellion "about 50 miles from the city. Qásim Khán, intend-"ing to remain in person to protect the city was "about to detach a force against him, when find-"ing his nobles discontented, he himself moved on to "meet the foe but was soon compelled to return by "hearing that Ya'qúb was again menacing the city. "He, therefore, left Mírzá 'Alí in command of the "force which was outside the town and this chief "found the enemy lurking at the hill of Alboord, "eight miles from the city. He proceeded thither "and encamping near them sustained an attack from "them by night but by the assistance of Providence "a field of canes in the vicinity took fire, and the

"assailants were at the same time so bravely resisted "that they were put to confusion and dispersed. "Ya'qúb escaped to Kutwara, which he plundered "but Mu. Bhat with many others gave himself up on "the succeeding day and on 23rd Isfan- "darmaz acquired the riches of an audi- "ence from his Majesty."

2nd March.

His information seems to have shewn Akbar that Kashmír could not be incorporated in the empire without greater effort; at any rate, Abul Fazl immediately in this connection records the fact that "four days later Mirzádah 'Alí Khán and Sa'íd "'Abdullah who had been remiss in their services to "the eastward were sent to Kashmír, in order that "they might atone by worthy actions for their past "neglect."*

We will let Abul Fazl continue the narrative: "Qásim Khán having by hard toils and masterly "talent gained the delightful country of Kashmír, "brought many of the rebels to execution and sent "many heads to the high court, whereon vast num- "bers of the people joining his cause, the whole "country began to flourish under the rule of justice, "while the enemies of the state were banished to the "wastes. But the victorious chief was subsequently "led away by vicious associates and ordering the "seizure of the chief Kashmírís he insisted on their "refunding to him the exactions they had levied dur- "ing the revolt of Ya'qúb. The inhabitants submit- "ted to his decrees in bitterness so long as the winter's

* Chalmers II, 401-2.

"cold endured, but the weather had no sooner moder-"ated than the hive of rebels again grew rife; they "united their numbers and enticing the mean Ya'qúb "from his hiding place mustered at a distance of "46 miles from the city, in the Khybur district. "Qásim marched out against them but as Ya'qúb "again attempted his old stratagem of getting between "him and the city, he was compelled to return. He "succeeded in saving Srínagar but not without a "severe action in which he, with difficulty and after "much fighting and loss, cut his way through a body "of the enemy who had posted themselves at the "defile of Bhak about three miles from the city. He "again marched out on the succeeding day, attacked "their post and carried it; Ya'qúb fled towards "Kurakh. But Ya'qúb was soon joined by Shams "Chak and the rebel again approached the city and "taking possession of an elevated spot which was "near the place defended by many lakes and fronted "by a morass, they wasted the country by constant "frays and incessantly annoyed the imperial army "by their sallying parties. Qásim Khán, wearied at "heart by these constant anxieties, entreated for "his recal which being accepted by the provident "monarch, Mírzá Yúsuf Khán* was nominated to "the command, and was accompanied by many chiefs "of note, while Qásim was ordered to return to "court so soon as the arrogant and blinded ones "should be punished."

* Yúsuf Khán was a real Sayyid of Mashhad and much liked by Akbar and eventually by the Kashmíris. His contingent consisted almost exclusively of Rohílahs. Trs.

"The march of this reinforcement getting abroad, "the Kashmírís despatched parties to guard the pass- "es, whereon Mírzá Yúsuf ordered Muhammad Bhat "and two other chiefs to circumvent their plans. The "hostile parties were gained over and the army en- "tered the country whereon Ya'qúb hastened to Kat- "mara and Shams to the hills of Kurakh; and Qásim "being dismissed from the imperial presence, Yúsúf set "himself to the task of gaining the hearts of the "people and their terrors and distrusts were soon "allayed. Mubárak Khan and Jalál Khán and Sa'íd "Daulat were sent against Shams whose power they "so broke that he never again rose up but submitted "and was forwarded to the court."

CHAPTER VIII.

Akbar's first visit to Kashmír.

During the operations in Kashmír detailed in the previous chapter, Akbar lost sight neither of the administration of the empire nor of the Afgháns nor of his Túránian policy. He ordered that each *çubáh* should in future be ruled by two *amírs*;* and effected such a division between civil and military accounts that it must have allowed closer supervision and have diminished the work of the finance department.

1586 A. D.
994 H.

He moreover indirectly interfered in the affairs of Túrán by receiving Sulaimán Mírzá, fugitive from Badakhshán. We have so far followed the fate of the rival princes of Badakhshán as to see Sháhrukh enrolled amongst the imperial commanders and Sulaimán settled in Laghmán. The latter had, up to this time, shewn little predilection for his imperial kinsman, but now, when Akbar held such a firm attitude towards 'Abdullah Khán, he testified desire to go to court. His reception, in this critical time was a renewed warning to Túrán. Towards the middle of September 1586, he betook himself to Kábul and communicated his wish to Mán Singh. In pursuance of royal orders with respect to him

1585 A. D.
993 H.

Beginning of Mihr, 994 H.

* Blochmann, 354. Trs.

the Kunwar set out to escort him through the Khaibar, committing his own government to Khwájah Shamsuddín Khawafí.

"The Kunwar," says Abul Fazl, "was however, "attacked by a fever at Bulagh near Jalálábád and his "illness encouraged the rebellious tribes (who had "only recently risen against the government of Sayyid "Hámid of Bukhára and been then repressed) to break "out a second time. The Ulus of Mahmand, the "Gharbah Khail from Pasháwar and the Yúsufzaí "increased the rebellion and entering Teráh, fortified "the Khaibar with stones. Teráh is a district of the "Kohistán, 64 miles in length and 24 in breadth; "bounded on the East by Pesháwar, on the West by "Maidán, on the North by Mázú and on the South by "Kandahár and is filled with difficult rocks and passes. "The illness of Kunwar Mán Singh lasted for a month "and a half, but he no sooner recovered than he set "his heart on the castigation of the Afgháns. He "therefore on 3rd Deh, left Mír Sharíf "Ámulí and his son in attendance on the "Mírzá and took Takhtah Beg Kábulí and 3000 "veteran troops along with him in order that he might "make his attack on Teráh by way of Marwán. "After many hard contests among the snows of the "mountains and in wild defiles where there was neither "room to fight or shelter to aim the sling or the arrow, "Kunwar Mán Singh succeeded in gaining an open "space and, giving boldly battle though contrary to "the advice of his companions, the breeze of victory "began to blow and the enemy took their flight to

13th December.

"the desert. They proceeded on the evening of the "victory to 'Alí Masjíd to procure a supply of water, "Muhammad Qulí Beg Turkmán bravely volunteering "to take the rear guard. They reached the place the "same evening and the Jalálah Afgháns again collect-"ing were about to offer battle on the following "morning, when a body of troops under Mádhú Singh "belonging to Rájáh Bhágwan Dás came up and the "Tajíks decamped without delay."*

It would seem that after the victory Mán Singh returned through the pass and escorted Sulaimán to the Indus by way of Kharia. The Mírzá was received in Láhor, on 21st February 1587, with every mark of distinction—Prince Murád, Rájah Todar Mall and other *amírs* going out four miles to meet him, while Hakím Abul Fath and Shaikh Abul Fazl were ordered to remain at hand to answer any questions he might put. For Akbar's treatment of Sulaimán, another ground than the ties of kinship may perhaps be found in spiritual "affinity; for Sulaimán was a prince of Çúfí tendencies "and a *Cáhib-i-hál—hál* being the state of ecstacy "and close union with God, into which Çúfís bring "themselves by silent thought or by pronouncing the "name of God."†

14th Isfandarmaz 995 H.

When, in 1587, Mán Singh was transferred from Kábul to the eastern provinces because his followers oppressed the Kábulís and he was himself slack in doing these justice, he was replaced by Zain Kokah under whose rule, small forts, (*T'hanahs*)

995 H.

* Chalmers II, 898*ff*. Trs.

† Blochmann 171 and n. Trs.

were erected along the route from Kábul to the Indus and in each a garrison left; a measure which so far broke the power of the tribes that they made a temporary and partial submission.

The beginning of 1587 found the Emperor's affairs prosperous and this especially in Kashmír.
995 H.
With a mind rendered the more easy by news of a victory over the Raushánís, won by troops under 'Abdulmaṭlab Khán, he could,
25th Ardibihisht.
on 5th May, celebrate the marriage of Prince Murád, then seventeen years of age, with a daughter of 'Azíz Kokah. On 28th
17th Mirdád.
July, he was near having to lament a great loss, for an attempt was made on the life of Todar Mall, by a Khatrí youth who wished to avenge a private grievance but who, with his accomplices, was promptly executed. On 1st August, death removed Vazír Khán, the then Governor of Bengal. His appointment was given to Sa'íd Khán Chagatáï and Sa'íd's province, Bihár, in pursuance of the policy of making friends of foes, was bestowed on Yúsuf Sháh of Kashmír.

Two years later, the Emperor carried into execution
1589 A. D.
the long cherished wish of paying a visit
997 H.
of pleasure to Kashmír. He travelled by the Bhimbar pass and Ratan Panjál and Abul Fazl records that, desiring to travel quietly, Akbar dismissed all but a few companions of whom he himself was one. The Emperor "pleasingly pursued his way, sometimes "on horseback, sometimes on foot, resting during "the heat of the day under the refreshing shade of

"the trees." From the Bhimbar pass, Burhán ul Mulk who had arrived from Teráh took his leave for the Dak'hin and orders were transmitted to the Khán 'Azam, the Governor of Malwah and to Rájah 'Alí Khán of Khándesh to render him every assistance in the subjugation of the country.

For a journey of pleasure such as Akbar was now making, there could be no more lovely scene than Kashmír—the incomparable valley which has ever been reputed an earthly paradise. Poets old and new, eastern and western, have vied in its praise and as of Damascus so of Kashmír it may be said, "See it and die." Its charms stamp themselves on the memory for ever. It is one of those elevated, mountain-girt valleys which can be formed only under conditions so gigantic as those of the Himálayas. It has a length of some 160 miles and a breath varying from 60 to 90, exclusive of its numerous and far-reaching side valleys. It is traversed from Verinág to Bárahmúlah by the Jhilam, a river here as wide as the Tigris at Móçul and affording a convenient and much frequented waterway. During most of the year, the river-meadows are clothed in richest green. Fields of rice and saffron and the famous floating gardens of the Srínagar lake yield a generous harvest. Kashmír, lying more than 5,000 feet above the sea and yet under an Indian sun, unites two zones. One can fancy the feelings with which Akbar, a man so susceptible to beauty, visited the garden which Haidar Mírzá had made at Sufa and there ascended an eminence which commanded a view far over his new domains. It

28th July, 13th Mirdád. is easy to understand that he should here be inspired with the right royal thought, of sending in advance the "chief poet," (Faizí) and Mír Sharíf with vast sums in gold to distribute among the poor and devotees of the capital.

Even to-day the gardens of Kashmír are amongst the world's wonders. Here grow in utmost plenty the peach and apricot, the cherry, plum, citron, fig and melon. The quince of Kashmír is proverbial for size and the juicy pomegranate recals Hafiz' comparison of this, his favourite fruit, to the cheek of a rosy beauty. Grateful as a weary traveller may find its fruit, he will still not forget the lovely form and regal colour of the flower which gave this birth. Assuredly not without cause, is the pomegranate bloom an oriental symbol of love. Kashmír has no palms but in their place, the slender poplar and the lofty cypress pierce the air. The mighty limes, beeches, chestnuts and oaks of Europe are dwarfed before the majestic growth of its planes (*planus orientalis*). The mountain sides, between 7,000 and 12,000 feet, are covered with extensive forests of deodars, the Himaláyan cedar (*cedrus deodara*); here and there the green of the valley is flecked by the deep blue of an Alpine lake and the landscape enlivened by towns and villages. Picture this lovely scene under a cloudless sun and one may guess the pleasurable feelings with which the Emperor traversed his new province. Moreover besides joy in its beauty, he had that given by the knowledge that he brought to it the peace it had lacked for centuries.

Hiding in the forests, lurked Ya'qúb and trembled lest the neighbouring chiefs should deliver him to the Emperor.* He saw that he had no resource but submission and therefore addressed a letter to Yúsuf Mírzá Mashhadí and on the plea of youth, entreated pardon. "What hath passed, hath passed," said he, "but let now only the slipper of his Majesty be sent "to me and I place it on my head and then venture "to approach and prostrate myself at the sacred threshold." He was pardoned and allowed to present himself on 29th July. The Emperor did not leave his new territory without trace of his genius but displayed great activity during his brief visit. Irrigation channels were cleansed and many orchards laid out. From his day date the avenues of spire-like poplars and the groups of giant planes, in shadow of which, even now, the traveller resting at Islamábád and Srínagar, sees in their leafy glories a memorial of Akbar's sense of beauty and love of well-doing.

18th Mirdád.

He left another memorial in the lordly fort of Kóhímáram which to this day forms a picturesque item in the landscape where it crowns a lofty rock called Harí Parbat that rises to the north-east of Srínagar. This fortress like Allahábád and Aṭak proclaimed its builder's supremacy. It was finished in 1597 and can have cost little less than £110,000. Of Akbar's palace for which £34,000 were expended no trace remains. Perhaps in the simple and airy fashion of the country, it was built of wood and may have

* Chalmers II, 417*ff*.

been destroyed in one of the not infrequent fires. The Emperor delayed in Kashmír till the beginning of the rains and then took his way by Pak'hlí and the Bárahmúlah to Hindústán, while prince Murád was ordered to move from Rohtas and join him for the purpose of going to Kábul. The months spent amongst the mountains would have been a time of pure pleasure and filled with the proud consciousness of using confirmed power for beneficent ends, if they had not held some dark hours of loss.

The first of these was caused by the death, in Kashmír, of Amír Fathullah of Shíráz, one of Akbar's most faithful and best-beloved friends. Fathullah had been induced by 'Ádil Sháh of Bíjápúr to leave Shíráz for the Dak'hin and after 'Ádil's
991 H. death in 1583, he had accepted an invitation to Akbar's court. He was made a *çadr* and held this office, together with a military command, till his death. Naturally Badáoní has something offensive to say about his Shí'ism. His comprehensive learning assured him the royal favour; he excelled in natural philosophy and especially in mechanics. He had a knowledge of languages which gave him a place among the scholars to whom was entrusted the task of translation—mostly from Sanscrit into Persian—for the royal library. Although Abul Fazl says that if the books of antiquity had been lost, the Amír could have restored them, he was no book worm. According to the *Mirát ul 'Alam* he "was a worldly man, often accompanying the Emperor on hunting parties, with a "rifle on his shoulder and a powder-bag in his waist-

"band, treading down science and performing feats "of strength which Rustam could not have per- "formed."* His death was a source of "poignant grief" to Akbar who at this time said of him, "He was my "confidant, my philosopher, my physician and my "astrologer. If he had fallen into the hands of the "Franks, I would have given all my treasures to ran- "som him and have gained by the bargain." He died in Kashmír and was buried near Srínagar, on the Takht i Sulaimán. Faizí wrote a fine ode for his elegy.

12th Shariur.

On 19th August died Hakím Abul Fath, another of the circle of the Emperor's close friends. His death occurred at Dantúr, on the Kashmír frontier and Akbar ordered that his body should be conveyed to Hasan Abdál by Khwájah Shamsuddín and there buried in a tomb which the latter had prepared for himself. Our most recent mention of Abul Fath concerns his unfortunate campaign against the Yúsufzaí. He, like his brothers Humán, now absent on the Túránian embassy, and Núruddín, a poet, rose to high favour. He was one of the 18 disciples of the Dín i Ilahí. Akbar, on his return from Kábul prayed at his tomb. For him too Faizí wrote an elegy. He was a man of "vast attainments" and was *Çadr* and *Amín* and also a *vazír*. He exercised great influence on his sovereign, and possessed immense power in matters of state.

End of Mihr.

The Emperor reached Kábul in the beginning of October and there received Hakím Humán and an envoy who had accom-

* Blochmann, 33n. Trs.

panied him from 'Abdullah Khán. It is to be regretted that Abul Fazl limits his record of 'Abdullah's reply to saying that the Khán had, agreeably to the wish of the Emperor, taken measures to secure Harát and Khurásán and had sent Ahmad 'Alí Atabeg one of his most intimate associates to convey his respects to his Majesty. That at this time some secret political action was going on, is with some semblance of truth to be inferred from the following story which Abul Fazl inserts between events of 22nd and 23rd November. Akbar was on his return from Kashmír and had to lament a further bitter loss in the death of Todar Mall when "an embassy arrived from Badakhshán des-"patched by a person named Muhammad Zamán. "'Abdullah Khán Uzbak having on his first occupa-"tion of Koláb, taken a son of Sháhrukh Mírzá of "that name and thrown him into a dungeon, an im-"postor after some time arose and declared himself "to be Muhammad Zamán. He gave out that he had "been rescued from the hand of the enemy by a faith-"ful noble who had delivered up another youth to "the captors in his room, and thus gathering around "him many of the simple hill-people who were "deceived by his pretensions, he succeeded in gaining "possession of Koláb and many other places. He then "despatched an embassy to the Emperor praying "for the imperial favour by means of which he doubt-"ed not to obtain further advantages over the Túránís. "His Majesty though well aware of his imposture "returned an encouraging answer, merely declining "actively to interfere on account of existing treaties

11th and 12th Azar.

"with the ruler of Túrán with whom he was on terms "of amity."* This story seems to show that the Emperor believed that only unremitting preparation for war and the secret support of elements hostile to 'Abdullah could hold in check an enemy so dangerous as he.

The burden of armed peace was the heavier on the Emperor that two mighty pillars of the state were now removed by death; Todar Mall and Bhágwan Dás. The first died near Láhor, of which city he had been left in charge when the Emperor went to Kashmír. "He had soon after applied for leave to go "to the banks of the Ganges, as he was old and wished "to die. Akbar let him go but recalled him from "Hardwár and told him that looking after his duties "was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the "Ganges."† Of him on his death, Abul Fazl says, "'Thus died a chief in integrity, in sagacity and ex-"perience of affairs of Hindústán unequalled in the "world.'‡ Badáoní's comments on the death of these two Hindús are eminently characteristic of the writer and may be illustrated by quotation of the following verse, which he states was made on Todar Mall.

"Todar Mall was he, whose tyranny had oppressed the world.
"When he went to hell, people became merry.
"I asked the date of his going, from the old man of intellect.
"Cheerfully replied that wise old man; he is gone to hell."

Todar Mall died on 9th October 1587. His friend Bhágwan Dás, was present at his cremation and on returning to his home, was

28th Azar 995 H.

* Chalmers II, 423.

† Blochmann, 352. Trs.

‡ Chalmers II, 422. Trs.

seized by an illness of which he died, on 13th November. He was, as has been said, one of the family of Ambar which first of Rájpúts gave adherence to Akbar and his sister was the first Rájpútní to marry a Mughul. His fidelity to Akbar in the critical battle of Sarnál has been recorded and so to the bravery with which he then saved his sovereign's life. Great as was Akbar's loss in him, that in Todar Mall was greater, for in the last passed away India's greatest statesman. His services will be noticed elsewhere. It was in jocund mood that Akbar had set forth for Kashmír: it was with grief of heart that he found himself in Láhor after the loss of four of his friends. His entry took place on 12th March 1590.

2nd Farwardin 998 H.

CHAPTER IX.

Akbar's Second Journey to Kashmír.

Láhor had now become the royal residence, for the looming figure of 'Abdullah Khán necessitated the transfer of the centre of government to the North-West. This was done notwithstanding that there was still fighting on all the frontiers. Oṛísá
1000 H. was annexed in 1591 and Sindh conquered in the same year. Like a louring cloud from which already some lightnings had flashed, the forces of the empire were gathering together over against the Dak'hin for the subjection of which, it must be admitted, up to this time the full strength of the empire had not been put forth. On the other hand the operations in Kát'híwár against Muzaffar Sháh were prosecuted with energy and brought to an end by his death in 1593. Buoyed up on the sustaining thought
1001 H. that hitherto he had achieved all earthly success, the Emperor determined to give himself the pleasure of a second visit to the most charming of his provinces. "So soon," says Abul Fazl* "as the rains "had subsided, his Majesty, accompanied by a few of "the curtained dames of his harem, set forth for "Kashmír, but finding the country entirely covered "with water, he left the young prince Salím to follow "at leisure in charge of his state camp while he him-"self pushed on more rapidly on his elephant. On

* Chalmers II, 458*ff*.

8th August, 1592. "28th Mirdád 1000 H. the disordered "state of Kashmír transpired and the "mysterious origin of his Majesty's wise resolution "to proceed thither was thus revealed. Darwish 'Alí "'Ádil Beg, Ya'qúb Beg Túrkoman and others, fol- "lowers of Yúsuf Mírzá the royal governor, had pre- "vailed on his nephew* Yádgár to place himself at "their head and to rebel against his authority. Hasan "Beg Shaikh 'Umarí, an imperial chief, was attacked "in his house by the rebels, but they were, by the as- "sistance of Qází 'Alí, repulsed and a treacherous "treaty was effected. But the two royal leaders were "unable finally to make head against the insurgents, "in consequence of which on the 1st "Shariur, His Majesty hastily crossed his "army over the flooded Chanáb where they heard that "all the troops of the Mírzá had joined the Kashmírís; "that Qází 'Alí had been slain and that Hasan Beg "had escaped after a hot pursuit but plundered of his "property, to Hindústán. His Majesty hearing of this "occurrence ordered Zain Khán to advance without "delay from Sewád and that the nobles of the Panjáb "should send on levies of the peasantry of that pro- "vince. On 5th Shariur Shaikh Faríd "Bakhshí (with others) took his leave in "order that revenge might be taken on the foe before "the fall of the snows and on the same day Yúsuf "Mírzá was, as a precautionary measure, delivered over "to the custody of the author but was released as soon "as his family arrived in camp from Kashmír."†

12th August.

16th August.

* "Son of Yúsuf Mírzá's uncle." Blochmann 346. Trs.

† Chalmers II, 469*ff*.

Shortly after this, the head of Yádgár Mírzá was brought in to the royal camp at Pampúr. "This "insolent wretch," says Abul Fazl, "had ventured to "coin money in his own name and to dignify his "slaves with titles of honour. He had calculated on "finding time to mature his plans before he should "be attacked. Being taken unawares, he neverthe-"less sustained an attack from Shaikh Faríd upon "the passes for two days and then took to flight." On the morning of 14th September the army moved to Haripúr, near to which place a headless corpse was seen upon the road which was identified as that of Yádgár who had been murdered by some of his own followers.

2nd Mihir.

The campaign was completed in 52 days and at the time when, on 28th September, the Emperor was resting in Haidar Mírzá's charming garden which, as he had seen it before in the beauties of spring, he now saw in all the magnificence of autumn. Hither news of victory poured in from all sides: Kashmír was again subject; Júnágaṛh and Somnát captured; Oṛísá annexed and Siwistán brought to submission.

16th Mihir.

The state equipage was now sent back to Rohṭás with prince Dányál who was ill, and Akbar proceeded over a road so broken by the snows that his horse once stumbled and fell. On 4th October he reached Srínagar and busied himself with the administration. "Chiefs of experience and "integrity were appointed in every quarter and most "of the disaffected were either taken or brought over

23rd Mihir.

"and then treated with distinction and magnificence.

14th October. "On 2nd Abán a grand entertainment "was given in honour of the weighing of "his Majesty and the writer of this history gave alms "to 14,000 supplicants. On 9th Abán

21st October. "his Majesty proceeded by water to view "the saffron fields which in fragrance and luxuriance "surpassed all the world, and in beauty of colour re-"sembled water-lilies. On 12th Mihir the Díwálí festi-"val was solemnized—an old festival of

24th October. "this country at which the Hindús pray "to cows. They look upon reverence shewn to cows "as worship. Several cows were adorned and brought "before his Majesty. People are very fond of this "custom.* The boats, roofs and terraces on the "border of the lake were ornamented with lamps and "and on the same day the daughter of Shamsuddín "Chak was admitted to the imperial harem while at "the same time, the daughters of Mubárak Khán and "Husain Chak were—to conciliate the inhabitants—"given to the prince Sultán Salím and several other "similar intermarriages were solemnized."

"From the delights of the climate, its accordance "with the imperial constitution and the agreeable and "extensive contemplation of the wonders of creation "afforded in this country, Akbar intended to pass the "winter in Kashmír but as the enormous price of "provisions subjected his followers, both great and "small, to distress and as the intense cold was with

* Blochmann, 216.

"difficulty endured by the warm temperaments of "Hindústán, His Majesty determined on his return, and "on 20th Abán set out by water, committing the government again to Yúsuf "Mírzá Rawazí."* The frame and will of an Akbar might endure every hardship: Abul Fazl has more than one story of his rapid recovery from injuries which might have long disabled a feebler constitution. Karl XII of Sweden was of equally tough physique, but he was not equally considerate; he would never have given up a plan of his own as Akbar now did, in order to spare his followers. On the return journey, a reservoir was visited called Zain-lanka which together with some subsequent incidents is thus described by one of the company of whom we have lost sight for some time,—Nizámuddín Ahmad. "This reservoir is enclosed "on the west, north and south by mountains and it is 60 "miles in circumference. The river Bahat (Jihlám) "passes through this lake. Its water is very pure and "deep. Sultan Zainul 'Ábidín carried out a pier of stone "to the distance of 180 feet into the lake and upon it "erected a high building. Nothing like this lake and "building is to be found in India. After visiting this "edifice, he (*i. e.* Akbar) went to Bárahmúlah, where "he disembarked and proceeded by land to Pak'hlí. "When he reached this place there was a heavy fall "of snow and rain. From thence he went on rapidly "to Rohṭás. I, the author of this history, and others "were ordered to follow slowly with the ladies of the

1st November.

* Chalmers II, 465*ff*. Trs.

"harem. It is a curious fact that when the Emperor "started on his return from Kashmír, he observed, 'It "is 40 years since I saw snow and there are many men "with me, born and bred in Hind, who have never "seen it. If a snowstorm should come upon us in "the neighbourhood of Pak'hlí it would be a kind "dispensation of Providence.' It occurred just as his "Majesty expressed his wish." Nizámuddín does not say whether the 'men born and bred in Hind' of Akbar's party also regarded the snowstorm as a gift from heaven. At Pak'hlí, the Emperor was detained nearly a month by the snows and rains. He subsequently made a stay of 13 days in Rohtás, left it on 9th December and arrived in Láhor about 29th December 1592.

13th Rabi al Awwal.
19th Deh 1001 H.

The Emperor arrived in Láhor a few days after Muzaffar Sháh had, by self-murder, ended his long conflict with the empire. Júnágarh had been captured a little after the middle of August 1592 and* Muzaffar died on 26th December of the same year.

16th Deh 1001 H.

On all sides, Akbar's power was strengthened and a desire to meddle in Indian affairs can hardly have occurred again to the ruler of Túrán. 'Abdullah must rather have felt relief that Akbar did not make common cause against him with Sháh 'Abbás. From this time forth he strove to remain at friendship with Akbar to whom also it was of importance that the

* In the text follows an account of Muzaffar Sháh's death but as it would seem more orderly to insert it in the chapter entitled "Death of Muzaffar" this has been done. Trs.

equilibrium of the North-Western Provinces should be maintained. It must however be admitted that when 'Abdul Mumin sought the hand of a daughter of Akbar, Akbar allowed Abul Fuzl to write to 'Abdullah a letter in maliciously polite terms, by which the request was represented as a piece of insolence. It is in this letter that the Emperor speaks of the drowning of the Túránian courier.*

So far as was conceivable in the then state of culture in Hindústán and with its medley of peoples, Akbar had pacified his empire. If here and there there was a rising, if there was fighting in remote spots, this was inevitable and no longer troubled the general peace. With strong hand and clear mind, Akbar henceforth made his beneficent reforms living powers. At this time occurs the intercourse with Christian ambassadors in Láhor. In 1593 followed the edict of toleration, authorizing freedom of conscience throughout all the land. Akbar in a letter of 1596 (41st year) and written to 'Abdullah, recapitulates in excellent review the great events of recent years. The composition is Abul Fazl's and the contents afford such interesting insight into Akbar's diplomatic correspondence that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting at length a part of them.†

"God be praised that from the beginning of our ascending the "throne of rule till now, which is the tenth year of the second

* See Akbar II, 114. Trs.

† I am indebted to Mr. Beveridge for the following translation and he desires me to acknowledge the assistance which he has derived in making it from Professor G. Hoffman's translations in the German, as given by Dr. v. Buchwald. Trs.

"epoch (*qaran*)* (and the first epoch was the dawning of the "morning of fortune and the opening smile of the spring of do-"minion and power) the righteous endeavour of this suppliant at "the Divine threshold has ever been to disregard his own interests "and to work always for the reconcilement and governance of "mankind. By the blessing of God, the vast territory of Hindú-"stán which hitherto has been divided among several exalted "rulers, has come within the enclosure and precincts of our power. "The classes of mankind who dwell in lofty mountains, in strong "fortresses and other places difficult of access and who do not lay "down the forehead of arrogance on the floor of obedience but "deliver themselves to ways of opposition, have now of necessity "entered upon the better path of obedience and affection. In "spite of diversity in manners and customs, the ties of friendship "have revealed themselves among the races of men. When heart-"ravishing words and the results of good morality and truthful "speech and good actions have come to pass, every one must give "thanks to God and join in the general rejoicing."

"Nothing is hidden or concealed from the mirror of the enlight-"ened heart which receives impressions from the holy universe."

"When we marched to the Panjáb, though our ostensible object "was to see the country and to hunt in it, yet there was another "object in our mind—the subjugation of the charming country of "Kashmír which up to this time has not been trodden by the foot "of any other sovereign, which for strength has no equal and "whose charms and beauties are proverbial and difficult to be "described by eye-witnesses. The injustices of its rulers were "being continually brought to our notice. By the favour of "heaven and the bravery of our soldiers and our warriors of the "faith, the country was soon brought into subjection, though "its rulers showed no remissness in fighting. But as our intentions "were all good, it was conquered most admirably. We ourselves "proceeded to that happy country—the latest gift from God, and "returned thanks to the Almighty Cherisher."

* *Qaran* is a *cycle* varying from 10 to 120 years, here probably 30 years as the letter was written after 40 years of Akbar's reign. Trs.

"As our natural disposition led us to see Kábul and all that "pleasant country, we went to the extreme highlands of Kashmír "and to Tibet and beheld with wondering eyes the rarities of the "picture-gallery of the Divine Creator. Thence by way of the "countries of Pak'hlí and Dhantúr which with their mountain-ridges "and valleys make a boundary such as can hardly be crossed by "heaven-aspiring thoughts and lofty imaginings, we came without "hindrance to the delightful plain of Kábul."

"Another secret desire of our justice-worshipping heart, was "that the ruler of Tattah (which lies by the seashore, in the western "part of our august empire,) who was not following the path of "rectitude, should at last listen to advice and enter on the highway "of obedience; and if from evil fortune he should not give ear to "advice, our desire was to make over that country which is wide "and populous to some just ruler. As he possessed neither a "good understanding, nor a seeing eye, nor a hearing ear, he "treated the words of admonition as an idle tale and being drunk "with the wine of recklessness, he broke off the thread of wisdom. "We sent an honourable army to his country and for nearly two "years our brave soldiers encountered every kind of danger and "battle, whether in the desert or on the river. And as our inten- "tions were all for the good of the world, victory continually at- "tended us, whereas the ruler of Tattah, according to the old ex- "perience that the affairs of short-sighted persons and those "void of understanding go to ruin, suffered defeat after defeat. "But as there was some goodness in his disposition, he came under "tribute and the whole of that extensive country became, with its "fortresses, part of our empire. But though he had made several "wars, he afterwards entered into our service and we magna- "nimously gave him back his kingdom."

"Another secret thought of our right-thinking mind was the "correction and chastisement of the turbulent Afgháns who are "more numerous than ants or locusts and inhabit the mountain- "fortresses of Sawád, Bijor and Teráh and are always interfering "with the caravans of Túrán. This too was attained. Many of "them fastened the ring of obedience on the ear of understand-

"ing. Many of the banditti were trodden under the feet of "elephants and many were bound by the ropes of the anger of "God and sold into slavery."

"Another secret wish of ours was to correct the evil disposed "Bíluchís who are always vacillating between obedience and its "opposite and who beset the way through the desert to Persia and "call thieving, taxing (*imgha tamgha nám nahadand*). That pic-"ture too was completed according to the heart's wish, but every "lovely feature which was imaged in the mirror of the heart "became enhanced in beauty in the bridal chamber."

"This too was among the favours of God that when the imperial "standards were in the Panjáb, Sulṭán Muzaffar of Gujrát, (who was "breathing out haughtiness with 40,000 cavalry) was captured by "our gallant soldiers and all the rebels and stiff-necked ones of "that country came under tribute and fastened the burden of obe-"dience on their shoulders. It was a strange thing that when "he was being brought to Court, he committed suicide. It was "however after all, a fortunate thing (or, It was the best thing under "the circumstances. Trs.) for a grateful heart hesitates long be-"fore putting a man to death and destroying an edifice of God; "and probably his life would have been spared had he been brought "before us. The famous Somnát and Júnagaṛh and the country of "Sorat'h which lies on the south by the seashore, were also brought "under our dominion."

"Also Burhán-ul Mulk, the brother of Nizám-ul Mulk who ruled "the country of the Dak'hin, had taken refuge with me. But so "long as the government was conducted with justice I refrained "from interfering in the affairs of the Dak'hin. But when I "heard of rebellions and of the oppression of the ráiyats, I ordered "the governors of Málwah and Khándesh to place Burhán-ul Mulk "on the throne and to return. As he was of small stomach, the "heat of the wine of the world was too much for him and he became "presumptuous. Thereafter, for by entering on the path of ingrati-"tude he caused his own destruction, in a short time not a trace "remained of him or his children. The chief men of the country

"set up a member of the family and behaved insolently. Therefore "I sent a heavenly army under the leadership of my son, Sulṭán "Murád, the ringlet on the forehead of fortune and the collyrium "of the eye of greatness. Much of that country which in extent "is a second Hindústán, was brought under subjection."

"Also, in the far east the country of Oṛísá, which is by the "seashore, was subdued and some thousand *sipahís* received pardon "and entered into the service of the empire."

"As the tale of the Divine mercies is long, so I only write a "few things for the delectation of your Highness."*

This was hardly a letter to gladden the countenance of 'Abdullah but rather one to give it the cast of sober contemplation. The time for exploiting Akbar's position for 'Abdullah's benefit was past. For although even the language of oriental diplomacy allows no misunderstanding, the statements of fact express the truth simply and 'Abdullah might congratulate himself that the letter concluded with a sincere assurance of peace.

The involved phraseology of Abul Fazl, such phraseology as was once demanded by oriental etiquette and likewise used by European conquerors, might place Akbar's designs in a distorted light. But in reality it was not passion for conquest which thrust the sword into the great Emperor's hand. On this point Akbar expressed himself in another letter, one dated 15th April, 1582 and which contains nothing diplomatic. This remarkable epistle is addressed to the "Wise Men of the

20th Rabí I, 990 H.

* The letter does not end here but goes on to describe the death of Mullá Husain. Trs.

Franks"* (*Dánáyán i Farang*) and consists only of a request for a Persian translation of the "sacred works "of the Pentateuch, the Psalms and the Gospels."

In it, Akbar spoke from the depths of his soul and full credence is due to his words. "The all-mightiest "God alone in his eternal goodness and changeless "mercy and spite of so many obstacles and such a "world of work and occupation, inclined my heart "ever to seek after Him. He has entrusted to me "the sovereignty over many powerful princes and I "strive so to guide and rule them, according to my "best judgment, that all my subjects may dwell in "happiness and contentment. Praised be the Lord, "His will and the discharge of my duty to Him are "the aim of all my aspirations."†

* Ind. Antiquary—April 1887. p. 135*ff.* Rehatsek. Journal A. S. B. 206. History of the Portuguese in India. T. W. H. Talbot. Trs.

† This letter is given at pages 37 to 39 of the Insha (Munshi Nawab Kishore's lithographed edition) addressed "*Dánáyán i Farang*" and dated Rabí I, 990 H. Trs.

CHAPTER X.

The Emperor and his Court.

It was said in the first volume,* that the accounts of Akbar's apotheosis must be received with circumspection. Most certainly Badáoní's utterances on the subject must be viewed with mistrust, although it is credible that Akbar should have been regarded by Hindús as an *avatar* of deity and although it is certain that the innumerable host of flatterers glorified him as such.† The question arises whether he himself designed this deification of his personality. Such a design would have distinctly influenced his more private life and his court and its results would at no time have become more manifest than when, by his recent conquests, he had averted danger through Túrán and had pacified his realm so far as lay in his power. For this reason, the question above propounded will be best answered by a survey of his life in the circle of his intimates.‡

The first thing which, as the statement of a man who saw Akbar face to face and spoke with him, should claim attention, is the conclusion of the fifth

* Chapter VI. (Downfall of the 'Ulamás).

† Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslám. Rehatsak. Bombay 1866, p. 73.

‡ Almost the whole of the facts of this chapter are taken from Blochmann's Áin i Akbarí and details on most topics are to be found by reference to that work. Trs.

chapter of the Portuguese narrative of Father Fernando Guerreiro, S. J.* which records a discussion on the divinity of Christ and gives a clear image of the life and doings in the '*Ibádat Khánah*. Akbar's splendid debating hall was in Fathpúr Síkrí but the practice of religious discussion followed him to Láhor.† Thither on 5th May 1595 came Father Fernando and here as in Fathpúr Síkrí the cool quiet of night served for discussion. In the first place, the Father explained why Christians revered Christ crucified. He ended with tact and correct appreciation of his audience by saying that no material thing—that is the painted paper—was the object of reverence but the representation thereon of the person of Christ, our Lord and God;—just as when Akbar's subjects laid his *farmáns* upon their heads they shewed reverence to the expression of his will. To this, the Emperor listened calmly and approvingly, agreeing that it was all reasonable. The Father was too wise and too sure of his aim to compare Akbar with Christ but he had the adroitness to draw a parallel between them. His satisfaction at the success of his artistic handling is to be read unmistakeably between his lines. When however,

* Relaçam annal das covsas que ficeramos padros da Companhia de Jesus, nas partes da India oriental * * tirado * * et ordenado pello Padre Ferãno Guerriero etc. Em Lisboa (Pedro Crasbeeck). Anno MDCXI. Cap. V. fol. 11. v.—13 v.

† It would appear that Dr. v. Buchwald has fallen into an error here. Father Fernando da Guerriero seems to have simply compiled the book just referred to. (Relaçam annal etc.) The Fathers who went to Láhor in 1595 were Jerome Xavier, Pignero and Benois de Gois. See Catrou, p. 127 *et seq* and Akbar Vol. I, 489. Trs.

following the Father's wish, the conversation passed to the subject of Christ's divinity, it became manifest that he had miscalculated. So long as the parallel between Christ and Akbar was maintained, the Emperor showed calm—*quietaçáo*—but when the doctrine of the Incarnation was touched on, he interposed that Christians named Christ God, only in testimony of their love and he shewed so much warmth—*feruor*—that the Father could say no more. The narrative mentions far oftener Akbar's manner of speaking that what he said. If he pacified the priests by acquiescing words, these indicate little more than that he paid one of the civilities which were the charm of his circle; or at most that he took up a position opposed to whatever Sunnís might be present. That he spoke with well-weighed calculation is shewn at the conclusion of the debate when he surpassed the Jesuit in the dialectic art of drawing parallels. As the Father had begun by raising Christ through a parallel to the Emperor's level before raising him higher in accordance with the teaching of his church, so and without withdrawing his former concurrence, Akbar deposed him. The Emperor expressed the opinion that Christians, being bred in the love of Christ, therefore called him God and that this need cause no surprise for in India the people took for holy a dervish who intoxicated himself with *bang*. Was it a matter of wonder that those who saw Christ reanimate the dead should take him for a God?

That Jesus could be a virgin's son, the Emperor believed as firmly as that worms issue spontaneously

from putrifying flesh. Undoubtedly that which withheld him from Christianity was on one hand, the form in which it was presented to him and on the other the fact that his conception of deity was inspired by Çúfísm.

There was about the Jesuits that which would attract and something also which would repel Akbar. Their devotion, disinterestedness and eminent culture were without influence on none—excepting indeed Badáoní—and least of all on Akbar and Abul Fazl. The strictly ecclesiastical organization which is the logical outcome of the doctrine of Papal succession would as undoubtedly repel. Akbar and the Papacy were incompatible. He at once recognized that an admission of the specifically Christian doctrine of the Incarnation involved submission in matters of faith to the infallible successors of Christ at Rome. To this he could not assent,—hence the warmth (*feruor*) of the debate. The evil he himself had to combat was one of antagonism between two religious corporations—the Muhammadan and Hindú—and this antagonism would have been increased by concession of power to the Jesuits. His motto was toleration for all—a generous sentiment which was not prevalent in Christendom in those 16th and 17th centuries when the witches' hammer brought hundreds and thousands to death.

Policy and feeling both drove Akbar to innovation; he was compelled to create.* Muellbauer grossly misrepresents when he says that Akbar vacillated

* Geschichte der Catholischen Missionen in Ostindien etc. p. 143 Freiburg in B. (Herder) 1852.

between the allurements of sensuality and the attraction of Divine grace and of his better self. He is wrong too in asserting that it was, above all, Akbar's enlightened arrogance which fettered his heart and, being fed by the flattery of courtiers, led him either actually to regard himself as the mediator between God and man or to hold it advisable for political reasons to pass for such.

The remarkable doctrine of immanence which Akbar believed, as did Báyazíd Ançárí, led him to regard all founders of creeds as manifestors of the Divine Spirit. This view must induce in a nature such as was his, reverence and toleration for all phases of faith. It assuredly does not deserve the title of enlightened arrogance although it has its reverse side in the ease with which it induces a belief that God is made manifest in those who hold the doctrine. Akbar held it:—not indeed regarding himself as God or a son of God for, on the contrary, he thought that by mystic illumination, God revealed himself specially to him. At the same time, he thought it serviceable to pass for a mediator and this thought was based not solely on motives of policy but also, on his conception of the kingly office. It required no exceptional flattery to bring him to this point. Even in Europe a "king by the grace of God" passed for gifted with supernatural powers. Englishmen under the Stuarts and later pressed to touch the royal, healing hand and a definite disease went by the name of the King's Evil because the Sovereign alone was supposed to be able to cure it. Is this other than the crowding of people to be

sprinkled with the water in which Akbar's feet had been washed? English kings have had faith in their own miraculous power; the French Lewises still greater; yet which of them all, Lewis the 14th excepted, ruled with a sway as absolute as Akbar's? The mere perception of the fact embodied in the following lines must lead a reflecting ruler to the notion which brought Akbar to call himself God's shadow.

> "So wide thy sway:—
> "And all these wait upon thy star,
> "And stake their all upon thy single head,
> "As on a well-famed number."

Let us imagine a soul inspired by Çúfísm, theorizing about the *All* and the *Ego*: set in the midst of millions of those who credit miracles and incarnations: let us imagine such a sovereign, labouring with all energy for the political and social blending of his peoples and setting himself as the ideal of reconciliation: he might as well surrender belief in his existence as that in his mystic and divine illumination.

Human, thoroughly human, as Akbar was, he would have needed to be an incarnation of Deity, if his belief in his likeness to God were not often to be intermingled with human frailty. It is indeed astonishing that the fine core of his character contrived to keep so sound as it did in the deadly husk of an Oriental court.

In an age when East and West rioted in spirituous liquors, he observed strict moderation. His sons, Murád and Dányál perished by *delirium tremens*. Salím (Jahángír)* says that it was Núr Jahán who by

* Elliot VI, 381.

her kindness and devotion weaned him from the vice of drunkenness but he was once in a condition to say, "Before I married her, I never knew what marriage "really meant. I have conferred the duties of the "government on her; I shall be satisfied if I have "two quarts of wine and a pound of meat per diem."* Other drinks than wine were common in India, such as *tárí* and *arrack* and there were intoxicants used, such as opium. Opium smoking and eating was hereditary amongst the Timurids. Both Akbar's father and grandfather had the habit and in the biographies published in Professor Blochmann's Áín i Akbarí, many deaths may be noted among the grandees as well from this cause as from drinking.

Convinced of the futility of the Muhammadan prohibition of wine, the Emperor once opened in Fathpúr Síkrí a shop where wine was to be sold at a fixed price and only for medicinal purposes. Any intending purchaser was bound to send his name and that of his father and grandfather to the vendor. Badáoní in his scandalous fashion, hereon says; "People gave false names when they made purchases "and a door was opened to intemperance. It is said "that pig's flesh was also an ingredient of that wine, "but God knows best! In spite of the precautions "taken, quarrels and fights ensued and although "every day many persons suffered chastisement, it took "no effect."† This measure shows that Akbar attempted to check the vice of drinking but it may also be that by permitting the use of wine even in sick-

* Blochmann 510. † Blochmann 192. Trs.

ness, he meant a blow to Islám. This regulation about wine hangs together with the prohibition of beef—the flesh of the animal held sacred by Hindús. Akbar was satisfied with a little wine, cooling sherbets, milk and water. In another respect, there was an approach to Hindúism which recals the Christian use of Jordan water for baptism and healing. In camp and wherever he resided, Akbar was always served with Ganges water: even for cooking this was used when mixed with rain water or that of the Chanáb or Jamnah. Drinking water was purified by being poured over saltpetre, boiled and let stand till the saltpetre had again crystallized. It was cooled by moving the containing vessel in saltpetre.
994 H.
After 1586 and when the court moved to Láhor, snow and ice came into use and elaborate arrangements were made for obtaining a supply from Panhán, some 90 miles to the north of the city.*

Abul Fazl says that Akbar did not drink much but paid great attention to the purity of the water and his procedure in this matter sets him clearly before our eyes. Mysticism disposed him to believe in an occult power residing in Ganges water but he was too sensible, for this reason, to drink it unpurified and uncooled. He in this both set a good example and attempted to constrain those addicted to the vice of drinking.

In recreation as in drink, he observed moderation. He was of too energetic a nature ever to enjoy a *dolce*

* For details consult Blochmann, 55. Trs.

far niente: Before daybreak, he performed devotions in which, according to Badáoní, he repeated the 1001 names of the sun. He then came from his private apartments and showed himself to the crowd assembled before the palace who greeted him with the *kornish*—a salutation made by placing the palm of the right hand on the forehead and bending the head. They also repeated 1001 names in his own praise. It is impossible that homage such as this should have been enacted and re-enacted without influence on even the most modest of men. Succeeding the crowd, the attendants of the harem paid their respects and at this time various matters, worldly and religious, were brought before the Emperor. These disposed of, he returned to the private apartments and reposed. There was a second public reception in the day, usually in the morning and in the State Hall, but sometimes at a later hour as specially announced. "Admittance to court" writes Abul Fazl,* "is a distinction conferred on the nation at large" and further adds that freedom of access was allowed to all classes.

After sunset came recreation which, at least in the Emperor's mature years, often took the form of reading aloud and discussion. At one time, Abul Fazl read the New Testament and perhaps 'Abdurrahím read his Persian rendering of Bábar's life to Bábar's grandson. The 34th Áín gives a list of works which were read and re-read to the Emperor in their Persian original and there were doubtless added to these, those translations from Hindí, Greek and Sanscrit

* Blochmann 156. Rehatsek 73.

which were made for the Royal Library. It is not certain whether all the translations from the Sanscrit were made direct or through the Hindí or by both methods. The *Mahábhárata* was, at least so far as Badáoní's share of it, taken from the Hindí. The following passage, compiled for the most part from Professor Blochmann's extracts from Badáoní, shows something of the mode of translation and utters the indignant discontent of the author at being—in conjunction with other Muhammadans—selected for the task of rendering the *Mahábhárata* into Persian. He had translated the *At'harban* and subsequently gave to the *Ramáyan* a Persian garb. He records that Akbar became much interested in the translation of Hindú works. Having commanded some *bráhmans* to expound the *Mahábhárata,* he devoted two nights himself to explaining the meaning—presumably from the Hindí recital of the *bráhmans*—to Naqíb Khán, who was then to give the gist in Persian. It was on the third night that Badáoní was ordered to assist Naqíb Khán. After three or four months, two of the 18 chapters of the "useless absurdities, enough to confound the 18 worlds" were laid before the Emperor. He took exception to Badáoní's rendering and called him an eater of forbidden food—(*harámkhur*)—and a turnip eater. Another part was subsequently finished by Naqíb Khán and his *collaborateurs* while Faizi who translated also *Lílawati,* wrote two chapters, prose and poetry. Of Sultán Hají of T'hanéswar's translation, Badáoní remarks that it was so exactly rendered as to reproduce even fly-marks. The Hájí was later dis-

missed from Court but other translators and interpreters "continued the fight between the Pañḍús and "Kurús. May God Almighty protect those that are "not engaged in this work" ejaculates Badáoní, referring to himself and others who may have desisted from the heterodox labour and at the same time, implying that those who persist in it are past salvation. To the Persian version of the great Hindú epic was given the title of the Book of Wars (*Razmnámah*); it was illuminated; Abul Fazl wrote a preface; one copy was made and the grandees were ordered to make others.* The narrow hearted Badáoní did not understand that ideas and refreshment could be drawn from bye-gone times and with all his erudition stood on a far lower level than the unlettered Akbar.

Although himself unable to read or write, the Emperor collected an extensive library which was kept partly within and partly without the harem. Each portion was subdivided according to the value of the books and the estimation in which their subjects were held. Works in prose and poetry, in Hindí, Persian, Greek, Kashmírí and Arabic were placed separately. They were also inspected in this order,—a fact of meaning. Akbar's conversational tongue stands between Hindí and Greek and this arrangement marks his religio-philosophic bias. The motive which placed Hindí first in rank is the complement of that which placed Arabic last.

* For curious variations in text or translation of Badáoní on this topic, it is worth while to compare Blochmann, 105 n. Lowe, 330, and Rohatsek, 92. In the above Blochmann has been selected as authority. Trs.

With strong light, shadows are deep. When Akbar broke with Islám, he began to date his documents from the death of Muhammad. The tendency beneath this change grew. Such small weaknesses certainly deserve attention. The prophet's language became odious to Akbar. "Reading and learning "Arabic was looked upon as a crime," says Badáoní, "and Muhammadan Law, the exegesis of the Qorán, "and the traditions, as also those who studied them, "were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. "Astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, "poetry, history and novels were cultivated and "thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, as the *shín*, *'aïn*, *ṇe*, *ṣád*, *ẓád*, *zoe* were avoided."* Surprise and amusement may be stirred by these fancies but in justice to Akbar, the more or less open opposition of the orthodox should be remembered. As an instance of this it may be mentioned that when Badáoní, after four years of work, presented, in 1589, his translation of the *Ramáyan* and received, with praise and payment, an order to prefix a Preface, he delayed long to do so, because he must in such a place have omitted all praise of the Prophet.†

997 H.

A most interesting Áín (Book I, 34) which is entitled by Professor Blochmann the "arts of writ-"ing and painting" contains ample proof of Akbar's craving for intellectual food. After mentioning that the royal library was arranged in the fashion already noticed, Abul Fazl tells us that books were daily

* Blochmann 195; Rehatsek 54.

† Rehatsek, 81.

read to the Emperor who heard them from beginning to end and was accustomed to mark with his own hand the page to which each day's reading brought the subject and who recompensed the reader in proportion to the amount read. There were few books of any reputation which were not thus perused—*mirabile visu*—in the Assembly Hall and Akbar thus became acquainted with all attainable historical facts, curiosities of science and interesting points of philosophy.* If Jahángír did not expressly state the contrary, one might infer that Akbar could write and the same inference might be made from Abul Fazl's representation of the Emperor as an excellent judge of caligraphy. In this last depiction there may be flattery, though Akbar's eye was just and he might well be able to discriminate as to neatness and elegance in hand-writing and this especially at a time when printing was as good as unknown in India.

Thus was the favourite recreation of Akbar's manhood a worthy one: it was also one in which whatever was remarkable in him must have offered itself to recognition, for the soul shines forth best in stirring talk.

Like Timur, Akbar had long arms and hands and like his father, inclined to corpulence, a tendency kept well in check by his physical activity. Jahángír has "consigned to perpetual remembrance" his father's personal appearance. He was of middle stature but inclining to be tall; his complexion was wheaten or nut-coloured, rather dark than fair; his eyes and eyebrows dark and the latter running across into each

* Blochmann, 103.

other; with a handsome person, he had a lion's strength which was indicated by the extraordinary breadth of his chest and the length of his arms and hands. On the left side of his nose there was a fleshy wart which in contemporary eyes, appeared exceedingly beautiful and was considered auspicious of riches and prosperity. His voice was loud and his speech elegant and pleasing. His manners and habits were different from those of other people and his visage was full of "godly dignity."* Although Akbar's face was of the Mughul type, it was admired both by Europeans and Orientals. The magic which gave it charm, lay in his mind and in him is verified the aphorism of that mediæval philosopher who said, "The soul is the prototype of the body." From under his bushy brows, his eyes shone with sovereign and manly dignity. When a smile played over his countenance it revealed a humane nature. His disposition is perhaps nowhere so clearly shewn as in his touching reverence and filial affection towards Maryam Makání who, for her part, clung to him with the utmost tenderness.† She will appear again, later, a mediatrix between her son and grandson.

Shortly after his accession, Akbar had married several wives but all the children born to him died in childhood. Troubled by this, he went on several occasions to visit Shaikh Salím i Chishtí at Síkrí who had gladdened him by promise of a son. His nu-

* Elliot VI, 290 and Price's Memoirs of Jahángír, 45, from which the above description is combined. Trs.

† Elliot V, 113, 207, 254, 262, 408. VI, 99, 108, 113. Chalmers II, 228, 279, 357, 425, 429, 433, 534, 535, 572. Blochmann 309, 455.

merous pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Salím's ancestor, Mú'ínuddín Chishtí Sigizí, in Ajmír were probably prompted at least in part, by desire of the saint's intercession. When hope of offspring was renewed by the condition of Maryam uzzamání, the sister of Bhagwán Dás, Akbar sent her to the house of the Shaikh and there on 29th August 1569, was born a son who was named Salím after his mother's host.* On 8th June 1570 and also in Shaikh Salím's house, was born Murád and in the following year, on 1st October 1571, at Ajmír, Dányál, in the house of a pious and celebrated Shaikh after whom he was named. In gratitude for the birth of Salím, the Emperor made a pilgrimage on foot from Ágrah to Ajmír, to the shrine of Shaikh Salím's ancestor, Mu'ínuddín i Chishtí. So too, though Nizámuddín does not say that this journey was made on foot, Akbar pilgrimaged to the same shrine after Murád's birth. Danyál's followed immediately after the visit to the same honoured tomb which initiated the first Gujrát campaign. Four daughters completed Akbar's family, one of whom, Shukrunnisá married Sháhrukh Mírzá.

17th Rabí I, 977 H.
18th Shariur 977 H.

3rd Muharram, 978 H.

10th Jumáda I, 979 H.

Possibly because his insatiable desire for knowledge made Akbar the more sensible of his deficient education, he gave the utmost attention to the training of his sons. It would have been well if he could have inspired them with a spark of his spirit. He gave

* Comp. J. A. S. B., LVI. Part I, No. 3, 1887. The Mother of Jahángír. H. Beveridge. Trs.

them the best instruction which India could afford and to this his contemporaries and Jahángír all testify. Men of reputation superintended their studies: Quṭb-uddín Khán and 'Abdurrahím Mírzá were Salím's guardians—*atáliqs*—Shaikh Faizí and Sharíf Khán Murád's: Sai'íd Khán Chagátáï Dányál's. It has been already said that Murád received instruction in Christian doctrine and in reading and comprehending the New Testament from some of the Jesuit Fathers. The seed of their word however, as they themselves record, fell on dry ground—Murád as also Dányál, perished by *delirium tremens*. Akbar's use of Christianity was moreover simply an educational experiment. He gave his sons strict Muhammadan tutors also and this at a time when he was himself estranged from Islám. He was enthusiastic for a faith which should be as free from creed as it was comprehensive of all creeds—and this, notwithstanding that he stumbled at times into heathen customs which were far below the level of Islám. He thought he could not better assure his children from what as king and man he most opposed—rigid dogmatism—than by bringing to bear on them two types of creed. He chose well for his antagonistic instruments orthodox Muhammadanism and Jesuit Catholicism. Sharper opposition can hardly be conceived. He had come to his opinions by comparison of creeds and weary effort:—so should his children come but in play and from childhood. He varied his experiment in the case of one of his grandsons by placing him under the carer of a *bráhman* and of Abul Fazl.

Of Akbar's wives with the exception of Salímah

Sulṭan Begum, the widow of Bairám Khán, we know little but a few names. No other of them was distinguished intellectually as were Maryam Makání and Núr Jahán, Jahángír's wife, but they were not therefore without influence and the Rájpútnís least of all. Royal consorts maintained their own customs and unhindered observed their special religious rites. Akbar used to join in the Hindú worship of his Rájpútní wives and with them celebrated the *hom*, a fire worship of ancient date. He wore the *tíká*, the mark of Hindúism on his forehead, at first within the harem but later openly. Badáoní and strict Musalmans had certainly ground for exasperation in this.* The fire temple in which Abul Fazl was guardian of the sacred flame, was within the harem precincts. Whether Akbar was drawn to Hindúism by wifely influence or by deeper inclination or by policy may be left an open question. It is certain that his close relations by marriage with princely Rájpút families and that of Ambar in particular was of the greatest political advantage to him.

The royal harem† was the residence of many other women than the Emperor's wives. In the earliest years of the reign it was superintended by Máhum Anagah. Abul Fazl estimates the total number of its residents at more than 5000. In this number must be included the army of serving women and dancers and singers who performed at festivals. Abul Fazl further tells us that the women of the harem (presumably the servants) were divided into classes and kept attentive to their duties by female

* Elliot V, 531. Blochmann 184, 193, 495. † Blochmann, 44ff.

superintendents, one of whom was selected for a writer. Salaries were given, exclusive of presents, according to rank and position. Women of the highest rank (presumably wives) received from 1610 to 1028 rupís per mensem while servants were paid from 2 to 51 rupís. If a woman wanted anything—within the limits of her salary—she applied to a harem cash-keeper. This person sent a memorandum to the clerk who superintended harem accounts. He in turn checked the memorandum and sent it on to the general treasurer who paid it—in cash because for similar claims no cheques were given. The superintendent of harem accounts made an estimate of annual expenditure and wrote out a receipt for the amount which was countersigned by the ministers of the State. It was stamped with a peculiar seal such as was used only in grants connected with the harem and only after impression of which it became payable. The money was paid from the general treasury to the general cash-keeper who on the order of the writer of the harem handed it over to the several sub-cashiers for distribution. The inside of the harem was guarded by sober and active women of whom the most trustworthy (? the *Urdúbegís*-armed women. Trs.) were placed about the Emperor's apartments. The outside of the enclosure was guarded by eunuchs and at a proper distance there was a Rájpút guard beyond which were the door-keepers. Besides these guards there were on all sides, *ahadís* and other troops. If ladies—wives of nobles and others—desired to visit in the harem, they had to obtain permission which

effected, some were allowed to remain guests so long as a month.

Residence in Akbar's harem must have been an ideal existence for Hindústání women. Geniality prevailed; dance and song, music and hospitality, now according to Hindú custom, now according to Moslim taste. A favourite game was *chandal mandal*, which resembled chess and draughts but had the element of chance in that moves were determined by dice.* Akbar was fond of games with cards and his improved methods of playing must have made complications thrice as difficult as those of European games.

There were in his packs twelve kings, designed and coloured according to his orders and which to judge by Abul Fazl's description shewed far more artistic sense than the kings of European design. At any rate the history of European card-playing shows decided falling off. An ancient Hindú game called *chaupar* was also in vogue in Akbar's harem. The Emperor would almost naturally love chess but it is not so natural that he should play it with women for pieces.

Flocks of pigeons of the choicest breeds of Túrán and Irán circled above the palace.† There were more than 20,000 and of these some 500 were of the finest breed, (*Kháçah*) of many colours and highly pleasing to the Emperor as a skilful breeder. Tumblers were much admired. When young, Akbar took pleasure in pigeon-flying but later when he grew older and wiser, discontinued the amusement. He however returned to it in after years out of interest in the effect of breeding

* See Blochmann 304 for full description. † Blochmann 298.

on colours. The beauty of form and hue of the birds were always a gratification to him. Some kinds of pigeons he kept solely for the beauty of their plumage.

Beautiful things of all kinds were gathered together in the royal apartments. Akbar was fond of perfumes and from ritual motives encouraged their manufacture. His palace was redolent of ambergris, aloe-wood and scents made from ancient recipes or invented by himself; incense burned daily in gold or silver censers and odorous flowers were used in great quantities. Abul Fazl names many volatile oils, the preparation of which so enriched the treasury that their sale covered a considerable part of the royal expenses. The favour with which Akbar regarded this department of industry is therefore explained in part by economic reasons. It is worth noticing that Abul Fazl brings the religious side of the matter into the foreground. The fragrance of incense is manifestly connected with Akbar's cult of the sun. If the candlesticks delineated on the fifth plate in Professor Blochmann's Áín are for ceremonial use, they afford some proof that the use of odorous flowers and the attention given to pigeon-breeding were also connected with the same cult. Here are represented two candlesticks of which the double arms terminate in flowers from which the candles rise as pistils. Still more beautiful is a five-branched candlestick from the centre stem of which grow five flowering branches with a dove gracefully poised on each and supporting an acorn cup from which the light emerges. This was designed by Akbar and shows how refined was his taste.

The design is so simple and so elegant that it might well serve as a model for our art-workers. These larger candlesticks were possibly used for ritual purposes notwithstanding that the sixth plate in Blochmann's Áin shows the Emperor kneeling before simpler and not elegant candlesticks. Every afternoon, 24 minutes before sunset, Akbar worshipped fire and light. He laid aside all insignia of royalty and, to use Abul Fazl's form of speech, brought his external appearance into harmony with his heart. Fire was always ready which had been obtained direct from heaven. "At noon of the day when the sun enters "the 19th degree of Aries, (*i. e.*, 29th "or 30th March O. S. Trs.) and the "whole world was surrounded by his light" says Abul Fazl, Blochmann, 48. Trs. "they expose a "round piece of white and shining stone called in "Hindí *Súrajkránt* to the rays of the sun. A piece "of cotton is then held near it which catches fire "from the heat of the stone. This celestial fire is "committed to the care of proper persons"—presumably to his own who had charge of the Sun Temple. "Lamp-lighters, torch-bearers, and the cooks of the "household use it for their offices and when the year "has passed away in happiness, they renew the fire. "The vessel in which this fire is preserved is called "*agingir*, *i. e.*, fire-pot." From this *agingir* the attendants on Akbar's worship also took their fire. At sunset, they "light twelve white candles, on twelve "candlesticks of gold and silver and bring them before "His Majesty when a singer of sweet melodies with

19th Farwardin.

"a candle in his hand sings a variety of delightful "airs to the praise of God, beginning and ending with "a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. "His Majesty attaches the utmost importance to "praise and prayer and earnestly asks God for renewed "light."

Abul Fazl thus opens the 18th Áín (Book I) which treats of illuminations, "His Majesty maintains that "it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire "and light; surly, ignorant men consider it forget-"fulness of the Almighty and fire worship. But the "deepsighted know better."

Turning now to another topic, it will be seen that the Indian climate allows tent life to be made luxurious. Abul Fazl says* that it is difficult to describe a large encampment and restricts himself to giving details of such as is used for hunting expeditions and on short journeys. From this smaller equipage something may be inferred as to the larger. Abul Fazl ascribes most of the camping arrangements to Akbar and this, although taken literally an exaggeration, may be so far true that Akbar would vary existing modes to suit his own taste. It is as sure that in this department his many-sided activity would effect much as that every court regulation would bear his stamp and for this reason the improvements now to be named may pass for his.

The great enclosure of the camp was called a *gulál-bár;* it was never less than 100 yards square was formed of folding wooden screens and had strong

* Blochmann, 45.

doors, secured by lock and key. Within it at the eastern end was erected a pavilion 24 yards long and 14 broad and divided into 54 partitions. In the centre of the enclosure was a tent called a *chaubín ráotí* and raised on ten pillars of equal length except two which rose to support the cross beam. The pillars and their superincumbent rafters were held together by clamps and bolts and nuts. The walls and roof were of mats and there was a verandah running round the four sides. The inside was lined with brocade and velvet and the outside covered with scarlet sackcloth. Encompassing it was a screen wall, a *sarápardah* which under Akbar was made of carpeting but formerly of canvass. Adjoining the *chaubín ráotí* was a two-storied pavilion in which the Emperor performed divine worship and, showing himself on the upper story of which he received the morning salutations of his nobles. No one connected with the seraglio could enter this without special leave. Apart from it, were 24 *chaubín ráotís*, each secluded within a canvass screen and used by the favourite women. Near these was an enclosure 60 yards square with tents for the armed women, the *urdúbégís*, and beyond this and reaching up to the private audience hall—*díwan í kháç* was a fine open space, 150 yards by 100 yards and called the *mahtabí* where the guards watched. In its centre a platform was raised, protected by an awning, a *namgírah* or dew-catcher, on four poles. The ruins of a platform similar to this but permanent are to be seen at Fathpúr Síkrí. It was here that Akbar used to sit in the evenings with those whom he specially favoured.

Near the *gulálbár* and having a door opening into the *mahtabí*, was a circular enclosure in the midst of which was a large *chaubín ráotí* and another tent which was divided into 40 chambers by canvass and designated by Akbar by the Chagátáï name *ibachkí*. Adjoining this was another enclosure containing the state hall which was constructed with a thousand carpets and containing 72 rooms. A tent-like covering called a *qalandrí* protected it from rain and sun. Here was the *díwan í khaç* to which certain nobles were admitted in rotation, their names being changed every month. Within and without, it was decorated with carpets and Abul Fazl says resembled a beautiful flower-bed. Three hundred and fifty yards from the erection in which was the private audience hall, an enclosure was made by drawing ropes through poles set at the distance of three yards from each other. This was the place of public audience—the *díwán í 'am* and within it, at one end, was the raised platform in which musicians took their station—the *naqqárah khánah*. Within the area was lighted the camp light, the "light of heaven"—*ákásdiah*.

Each encampment such as has been described required for its transport 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 carts and 100 bearers. It was escorted by 500 troopers, including *mançabdárs*, *ahadís* and others. One thousand tent pitchers were employed, natives of Írán, Túrán and Hindústán: 500 pioneers, 100 water-carriers, 50 carpenters, tent-makers and torch-bearers, 30 cord-wainers and 150 sweepers. This being a small encampment, it is possible to form some idea of the magnitude of a large one and also of the permanent

establishment in Fathpúr Síkrí or Láhor. It must be remembered moreover, that there were probably relays of tents so as to ensure quarters at the end of a day's march. Transport could never fail, for the royal stables housed 5000 to 6000 elephants. Camels and horses were in like profusion. It is not easy to realize the march of an army in which every Commander, to the extent of his means, surrounded himself with similar luxury. Camp life must have been various and motley in colour and fabulous in splendour of dress and equipage.

When in the early morning, drums and trumpets announced that the Emperor had entered the audience hall, the grandees proceeded to pay their respects and other persons to transact business. He sat cross-legged—*chahárzánú*—upon the throne, a position of comfort says Professor Blochmann allowed by orientals to persons of rank. On days of high festival a throne was used made of sandal wood and decorated with ivory. On such days too, perhaps as well as at the accession ceremony, the cushions would be overlaid with goat skins. There were strict regulations as to the distance at which the princes, grandees and others placed themselves from the throne. Abul Fazl tells us however that the Emperor affectionately brought the younger children nearer to him than was dictated by etiquette. The "elect of "the highest rank who are worthy of the spiritual "guidance of his Majesty,"—presumably the disciples of the *Dín i Ilahí*, were allowed places nearer to the person than were even the senior grandees. Close to the Emperor stood his *sáibánís* or umbrella holders

and the attendants who fanned him and some of whom called out the names of those to whom he wished to speak. A person so summoned stepped forward and made either the *taslím* or the *kornish*. The first was a salutation which consisted in placing the back of the right hand on the ground and then raising it slowly till the saluter stood erect when he placed the palm on the crown of the head. The signification of this would be clear even without Abul Fazl's explanation that it symbolized readiness to give oneself as an offering. Three *taslíms* were made on taking leave, on presentation, on receiving a *mançab*, a *jágír*, a dress of honour, an elephant or a horse. The *kornish* was made by placing the bowed head in the palm of the hand. This signified that the head, the seat of mind and the senses, was placed in the hand of humility. The origin of the fashion of laying the hand on the head in both salutations is told by Akbar himself. When he was a child, his father made him a present of one of his own caps. The child, when stooping to bow in acknowledgment of the gift, found the cap rather large and laid his hand on it, thus making the initial *kornish*. Humáyún liked the new fashion which his little son had suggested and ordered it to be adopted as a part of both *kornish* and *taslím*.*

In judging Akbar's attitude towards the theory of his divine gifts, Abul Fazl's description of the religious prostration—the *sijdah*—is of use. It shews that he was more moderate than his disciples. Abul Fazl says that, as the above mentioned ordinary salutations were used by servants to their master, it was necessary

* Blochmann, 158.

for the disciples of the *Dín i Iláhí* to add something to the *kornish* and *taslím*. They therefore used the *sijdah* which is one of the positions of prayer. The disciples looked upon prostration before Akbar as a prostration performed to God because "royalty is an "emblem of the power of God and a light-shedding "ray from the sun of the absolute." Viewed in this light, Abul Fazl states, that the *sijdah* had been acceptable to many but it is certain that it must have been highly unacceptable to Muhammadans who regarded it as the exclusive right of God. Akbar had practical wisdom to perceive the inadvisability of using the *sijdah* and forbad it in the public audience hall. His biographer says that in the *díwán i kháç* it was used by those who were ordered to seat themselves. He concludes with words which seem to limit its use to Akbar's religious disciples; "By forbidding "the people at large to prostrate but allowing the "elect to do so, his Majesty fulfils the wishes of both "and shows the world and fitting example of practi-"cal wisdom."*

Akbar's unremitting spirit of inquiry, his wide plans and a temperament which was calm only in appearance must have exposed him to the sway of moods. It was not always at the dictate of reflection that he sometimes yielded, sometimes stood fast. The two following stories told by Asad Beg† are records of moods and as such are valuable towards comprehending Akbar and his household life. The first dates from the time when he was rendered

* Blochmann, 159.

† Author of *Wiqaja*. Elliot VI, 164.

anxious by gloomy news from the Dak'hin and when Asad Beg had just returned from Bíjápúr. "At that "time, the Emperor used to retire for a long interval, "after evening prayers, during which the servants "and courtiers used to disperse, assembling again "when they expected his Majesty to reappear. That "evening the Emperor happened to come out "(from "private devotions)" sooner than usual to hear the "news from the Dak'hin and at first found none of "his servants in the palace. When the came near "the throne and couch, he saw a luckless lamplighter, "coiled up like a snake, in a careless death-like sleep, "close to the royal couch. Enraged at the sight, he "ordered him to be thrown from the tower and he "was dashed into a thousand pieces. In the midst of "his anger, the unhappy Khwájah Amíruddin whose "watch it was, came in sight. Akbar addressed him "in harshness and anger and after abusing and dis-"gracing him, turned him out of the tower and order-"ed him instantly to start off and join the prince's "camp. He severely reprehended Daulat Khán who "was also on guard at the time, and disgraced and "dishonoured him. Even Rám Dás had a share in "that misfortune but he was not so severely punish-"ed. The Emperor then sat down on the royal "couch and in great fear I approached and salu-"ted him. As soon as his eyes fell upon me, he "bestowed on me the office which Khwájah Amíruddin "had held for some years and in which he enjoyed "great respect and honour and at the same time said to "Rám Dás, 'I have bestowed the office of that wretch

"'on Asad; we shall see how he conducts himself. "Bring him now to do homage.'"*

It was truly a dark mood which tempted Akbar to such base revenge for neglect of household-service, a mood perhaps inevitable to an exaggerated notion of the claims of self. Happily outbreaks of temper such as were frequent with other oriental potentates were rare with him and were followed by bitter repentance.

A more attractive mood is represented in Asad's account of how Akbar smoked his first pipe of tobacco. "In Bíjápúr I had found some tobacco. Never "having seen the like in India, I brought some with "me and prepared a handsome pipe of jewel work. "The stem, the finest to be procured at Achin, was "three cubits long, beautifully dried and coloured, "both ends being adorned with jewels and enamel. "I happened to come across a very handsome mouth- "piece of Yaman cornelian, oval-shaped which I set "to the stem; the whole was very handsome. There "was also a golden burner for lighting it, as a proper "accompaniment. 'A'dil Khán had given me a betel "bag of very superior workmanship; this I filled "with fine tobacco, such that if one leaf be lit, the "whole will continue burning. I arranged all elegant- "ly on a silver tray. I had a silver tube made to "keep the stem in and that too was covered with pur- "ple velvet. His Majesty was enjoying himself after "receiving my presents and asking me how I had col- "lected so many curious things in so short a time

* It will be remembered that on appointments three *taslíms* were made. Trs.

"when his eye fell upon the tray with the pipe and its "appurtenances; he expressed great surprise and examined the tobacco which was made up in pipefuls; "he inquired what it was and where I had got it. The "Nawáb Khán i 'Azam replied; 'This is tobacco "which is well known in Makkah and Medína and this "doctor has brought it as a medicine for your Majesty.' His Majesty looked at it and ordered me to "prepare and take him a pipeful. He began to smoke "it when his physician approached and forbade his "doing so. But His Majesty was graciously pleased "to say that he must smoke a little to gratify me "and taking the mouthpiece into his sacred mouth "drew two or three breaths. The physician was in "great trouble and would not let him do more. He "took the pipe from his mouth and bid the Khán i "'Azam try it who took two or three puffs. He then "sent for his druggist and asked what were its peculiar qualities. He replied that there was no mention of it in his books but that it was a new invention and the stems were imported from China and "the European doctors had written much in its praise. "The first physician said, 'In fact this is an untried medicine about which the doctors have written "nothing. How can we describe to your Majesty "the qualities of such unknown things? It is not "fitting that your Majesty should try it.' I said to "the first physician, 'The Europeans are not so "foolish as not to know all about it; there are wise "men among them who seldom err or commit mistakes. How can you, before you have tried a thing "and found out all its qualities, pass a judgment

"upon it that can be depended upon by the physi- "cians, kings, great men and nobles? Things must "be judged of according to their good or bad quali- "ties and the decision must be according to the facts "of the case.' The physician replied, 'We do not "want to follow the Europeans and adopt a custom "which is not sanctioned by our own wise men with- "out trial.' I said, 'It is a strange thing, for every "custom in the world was new at one time or other; "from the days of Adam till now, they have gradu- "ally been invented. When a new thing is introduced "among a people and becomes well known in the "world, every one adopts it; wise men and physi- "cians should determine according to the good or bad "qualities of a thing; the good may not appear at "once. Thus the China root, not known anciently, "has been newly discovered and is useful in many "diseases.' When the Emperor heard me dispute "and reason with the physician, he was astonished "and being much pleased gave me his blessing and "then said to the Khán i 'Azam, 'Did you hear how "wisely Asad spoke? Truly we must not reject a "thing that has been adopted by the wise men "of other nations merely because we cannot find "it in our books or how shall we progress?' The "physician was going to say more when his Majesty "stopped him and called for the priest. The priest "ascribed many good qualities to it but no one could "persuade the physician; nevertheless, he was a good "physician. As I had brought a large supply of to- "bacco and pipes I sent some to several of the

"nobles, while others sent to ask me for some; in-"deed all without exception wanted some and the "practice was introduced. After that the merchants "began to sell it so the custom of smoking spread "rapidly. His Majesty, however, did not adopt "it."

As in India climatic extremes—clear sunshine and tempestuous rain—alternate to tempt her wealth from earth so physical extremes alternated in Akbar. Like every ruler who "not vainly wears the sword" he felt himself the vicegerent of God; his sense of power deepened till he touched belief in a mystical union with Deity: he scattered blessings: yet at the same time, he manifested real human feeling and subdued himself to a degree of tolerance which was certainly of doubtful policy. Asad Beg's first story tells of a victim to the rare, but then measureless, anger of the Emperor; his second shows Asad in the sunshine of the light-heartedness of a Sovereign who received all novelties with lively curiosity and with unclouded freedom of judgment. The peculiar temperament engendered by this north and south of his heart matured Akbar's best and his worst, as well as that singular duality which with the higher traits of his character, allowed to subsist a capacity for entering into *minutiæ* even such as of the kitchen. He was the most sparing eater and the most generous host, despising the food and valuing the *cuisine*.* Abul Fazl who devotes seventeen pages of Blochmann's close print to the affairs of the kitchen, states that the ques-

* Blochmann, 56*ff*.

tion. "What dinner has been prepared to-day?" never passed the Emperor's lips. He ate once only in the day and at uncertain hours; alone and desisting before feeling satisfied. His cooks kept food half-dressed so that his meal could follow his order within an hour. For the harem however, food began to be taken from the kitchen in the morning and went on till night. Badáoní records that at certain times of the year, Akbar abstained from animal food—once for six months consecutively—and that he contemplated becoming a vegetarian.* This may have been a caprice of his fancy for Hindúism: it is certain that he cared little for meat and attempted to wean himself from it. He and his disciples observed the following fast days: Fridays and Sundays; later, the first day of every solar month, days of solar and lunar eclipses, the day between two fasts, the Mondays of the Emperor's birth month. The feast day of every solar month, the whole of Farwardin (March-April) and of Abán (October-November). Other days were subsequently added and each year the number waxed by five.

Although himself abstinent, Akbar's kitchen department was carefully regulated. Its head was assisted by the prime minister himself who was at one time the arch-gourmand Abul Fazl, and a "zealous and sincere" man was appointed *Mír Bakáwal* or master of the kitchen. The Emperor made many wise regulations for the management of the kitchen and the *Brillat Savarin* of Hindústán, as though compelled to apologize to himself, says that no reason can be given against the royal attention to this matter.

* Rehatsek l. c. 70—72.

"Every day such dishes are prepared as the nobles" (of whom he was himself one) "can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer "how exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for "His Majesty."

The following is a recipe for a dish in which no meat was used and of a class called therefore *çúfiyánah* it was named *bádinján* and had the following ingredients, for a quantity sufficient for six dishes. Rice 20lbs; *g'hí* 3lbs; onions 7lbs; ginger and lime juice ½ lb; pepper and coriander seed 75 grs. of each; cloves, cardamums and *assafœtida* of each 7½ grs. The comestibles and especially the fruits mentioned in the 27th and 28th Áíns put contemporary Europe to shame. Kábul, Kashmír, Túrán and Hindústán paid their tribute to Akbar's table. He was fond of fruit and his residence at Láhor improved in the Panjáb the cultivation of the mango. Notwithstanding his whim of abstinence, choice viands appeared at his table in profusion on feast-days.

In simplicity of dress also Akbar was often distinguished from his environment.* He preferred woollen stuffs to silk—a preference based upon his Çúfíc predilections. He has been described (? by one of the Goanese priests. *Trs.*) as clothed in white woollen garments; wearing strings of pearls on neck and right wrist and a signet ring on the fourth finger of his right hand. On his head was a black velvet cap,

* Mahmúd Sháh Bahmaní I, from his accession, wore plain white robes because he considered it a breach of trust to his people to spend on himself more than was necessary. Firishtah. Briggs II, 349. Trs.

perhaps a reminiscence of the ancient leathern cap of the Chagátái. He sometimes amused himself in the harem by donning European dress. The surtout was however, prolonged beyond the limit of Spanish fashion and reached the knees and his lower limbs were cased in baggy trousers in order to hide legs which gave evidence of much riding.*

If royal dignity demanded, he could assume a splendour of attire suitable for festivals and holidays. Such an occasion was his birth-day when he was weighed twelve times against gold, quicksilver, silk, perfumes, copper, pewter, drugs, *g'hí*, iron, rice, milk and seven kinds of grain and salt.† All the articles used as weights were given to the poor, usually to *brahmáns*. To breeders of animals there were given as many sheep, goats and fowls as the Emperor had seen years. Numerous small animals were also set at liberty. The anniversary was observed on two days, the first of Abán which was the solar anniversary and the lunar anniversary on 5th Rajab which would fall on a day changing each year if described in terms of the Christian era. The latter feast was celebrated with less splendour and eight articles only were weighed against the Emperor; silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard-oil and vegetables. Donations and grants of pardon were bestowed on all ranks. The royal princes were weighed on the solar anniversary of their birth and, on the first occasion, against one article only. With each year, one other

13th or 14th October.

* Jahángír makes no mention of this peculiarity. Possibly the statement is derived from some Jesuit chronicle. Trs.

† Blochmann, 266.

weight was added, usually articles up to seven or eight and never beyond twelve. This ancient custom has survived to modern times; Tod mentions rájahs who thus squandered their substance on *bráhmans* as Akbar did also at Nízámábád where on 27th January 1565 he gave his weight in gold to *bráhmans*.

5th Rajab, 973 H.

Akbar not only attached value to Hindú customs but adopted the feasts of the Jamsheds and of the Parsís. It was a Parsí custom to hold festival on each day the name of which coincided with that of the current month. Thus Farwardin was the name of the 1st month of the Ilahí year and also of the 19th day of every other month. These feast days therefore were 19th Farwardin; 3rd Ardibihisht; 6th Khurdád; 13th Tir; 7th Mirdád; 4th Shariur; 16th Mihr; 10th Abán; 9th Azar; 8th, 15th, 23rd Deh; 2nd Bahman; 5th Isfandarmaz.

Akbar's principal festival however, was that of the new year; it lasted nineteen days and had for its two high days the first and nineteenth of Farwardin. The third feast day of each month was made by the Emperor a day of special entertainment. It was designated *Kushroz* (happy day) and on it was held a fancy bázár or fair. In this the ladies of the royal and other harems first made their purchases and it was then opened to men. The Emperor made purchases in person and thus, says Abul Fazl, increased his knowledge of trade and traders.

In textile industries, the Emperor took special and financial interest. We have seen that he used carpets

extensively for constructing his encampments. He so improved their manufacture that, although still imported, the carpets of Irán and Túrán were neglected for those made in the royal factories. Stuffs of various kinds were brought from Persia, Europe and Mongolia and skilled workmen settled in Hindústán to teach improved methods of manufacture. Even "experienced travellers" were surprised at the beauty of the textures which were woven in the royal factories of Láhor, Fathpúr Síkrí, Ágrah, and Ahmadábád. Akbar acquired a theoretical and practical knowledge of the process of manufacture and under his auspices great improvement followed. His question in the discussion about tobacco, "How shall we otherwise make progress?" is characteristic also of his manufacturing policy: foreign countries could teach but his taste would direct. Abul Fazl details the rules for the storing and subsequent use of articles which had been bought, or woven to order, or received as presents. They were stored in the order received and in the same order taken out to be cut for garments or given away. By copying those of good foreign make, the imperial workshops came to furnish all stuffs such as were made in other countries. In order to regulate the demand for specific articles the Emperor at one time ordered that persons of certain rank should wear certain things. Inquiry was constantly made as to the price of various articles, for the reason that a knowledge of exact prices is conducive to the increase of the stock and by this means, prices tended to fall. Thus a piece of stuff woven by the

famous Ghiás i Naqshbandí which had formerly sold for 100 *muhrs* could now be bought for 50 and other articles fell in price—some even by 75 per cent. His interest in domestic economics reached to the re-naming of garments and it is in accordance with his predilections that his new names were Hindí.

Badáoní tells a story which bears on the point of Çúfíc tendencies in dress and personal habits. One day when he entered the royal service, Abul Fath remarked to him that his beard was cut more closely than was fashionable. "A short beard," said he, "does "not become you." "It is the barber's shortcoming "and not mine," was Badáoní's reply. "Well, don't "do it again; it is neither proper nor becoming." answered Abul Fath. Some time after this, Abul Fath, according to Badáoní, became a "Shí'ah, a religious mendicant or a Hindú" and shaved his head and became so smooth of face that beardless boys envied him. Whereon the narrator remarks "He who vexes "his brother about a fault, dies not until God has tried "him in that very thing."* Shawl stuffs even when of equal quality, acquired different values according to the day on which they were received. The gifts of the first Farwardin assumed highest rank because this was the anniversary of the accession. Akbar believed in lucky and unlucky days and it may be that a similar superstition induced him to prefer the woollen stuffs affected by Çúfís to silken. Having mentioned Akbar's preference for woollen garments,

* Lowe 313. Rehatsek 50 *ff*.

Abul Fazl goes on, that he must record as a most curious sign of auspiciousness that the Emperor's cloths fitted every one becomingly whether tall or short, and that this fact has puzzled many.

Even the eulogist of Abul Fazl, Professor Blochmann, owns that the praises of the brothers 'Allamí and Faizí throw a peculiar light on Akbar and that he received immoderate flattery with self-complacency. "Against Faizí," says Blochmann "the charge of "fulsomeness would more appropriately lie who like "the poets of imperial Rome represents the Emperor "as God." Abul Fazl whom every poetic flight eludes and who for this reason subdued his style through all variations of masterly repose, must have known when attributing mysterious powers of "*fit*" to the royal garments that he was uttering foolish falsehood. His art attuned itself to the royal temper. Passages such as the above—empty and untrue—count on moods such as that which doomed the lamp-lighter. If Abul Fazl and his like did not flatter the Emperor into deification, they confirmed him in his fancy of likening himself to God. What Akbar dimly experienced in his mystical moods, Faizí set before his imagination in poems.

"He is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call possessor of the sciences and our guide on the path of religion. "Although kings are the shadow of God on earth, he is the emanation of God's light. How then can we call him a shadow?"

The poetical antithesis of light and shade was Abul Faizí's main point. From this same antithesis, his brother framed a political system.*

* Blochmann iii. Abul Fazl's Preface.

"Royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun, "the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of "perfection, the receptacle of all the virtues. Modern language "calls this light the divine (*farr i ízidí*) and the tongue of anti- "quity called it the sublime halo (*kiyán khwarah*). It is commu- "nicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of "anyone and men, in its presence, bend the forehead of praise "towards the ground of submission."

Abul Fazl's conception does not go so far as to say that kingship as such is the order of the universe but that the king embodies the Divine order of the universe—the will of God in so far as it concerns man. In involved diction he states the proposition that no dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty,* comes to the above result, and carries out his doctrine as to the relation of the king to his subjects—thanks to Akbar's better genius with lesser consequences than would have been expected. Faizí flies more boldly at his aim.

"He is a king who opens at night the door of bliss; who shows "the road at night to those who are in darkness.

"Who even once by day beholds his face, sees at night sun- "rising in his dream.

"If you wish to see the path of guidance as I have done, you "will never see it without having seen the king.

"Thy old-fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee; see "Akbar and you see God.

"O king, give me at night the lamp of hope, bestow upon my "taper the everlasting ray!

"Of the light which illuminates the eye of Thy heart, give "me an atom, by the light of the sun!"†

* Blochmann ii.

† Faizí's Rubá'ís. Blochmann 561.

Which is the original?—Faizí's quatrains or Abul Fazl's preface? They are almost identical. After Faizí's death, Abul Fazl collected his brother's improvisations. He saw Akbar working at a religion of the future; filled by sense of divine grace; elevated by success and theorizing on the problems why God had given him all these gifts and whether he were not created to be God's image on earth. The minister then endeavoured to save his sovereign from sorrow accruing through his resemblance to Deity. If one asks how Akbar—to whom it undoubtedly occurred—and Abul Fazl justified themselves to their conscience, the answer is, "By political necessity." Akbar had failed in his attempt to expel two mighty creeds by importation of a third. The conflict will thereby have been intensified and his own power not increased. Increased power was at all hazards imperative, if the Empire was not to split into petty principalities. If his power could not rest only on man's fear, it was driven to aim at becoming the goal of God-toward hope. Thus Akbar may, in the first instance, only have conceded what was compelled. Then however when fortune and success accompanied his steps; when with his waxing power, there came clearer insight into the difficulties of his task, must not the truth have forced itself upon him that his work was so great that only a God could do it? It seemed indeed accomplished in part, for his sovereignty was established and the power of the *'ulamás* broken. Desire and belief ally themselves so readily that it would have been wonderful, if Akbar had not thought him-

self far nearer his goal than he was. Although he daily laid aside his pretensions before the Almighty and knelt with folded hands before the lights of the Eternal, it was impossible for him to conceal from himself that to himself before all men he owed his success. This sense of elevation combined with that humiliation caused him to seem to himself specially favoured of God. Accustomed to act indirectly,—for to him the battles of Todar Mall and of 'Abdurrahím were his own,—he attributed the same indirectness to God's action on earth. To this was added the fact, that in all the creeds which he knew intimately, the Divine manifestation was indirect. The more he combated his pride by fasting and prayer, the more mysticism confused means and cause. If in the term *shadow of God* there was humiliation, there was also the reverse. Faizí's question, "How then can we call him a shadow?" must have risen in Akbar's mind amid the buzzings of flattery and servility and—among the masses—of veritable belief in his divinity.

The adoption of Çúfíc garments sufficiently characterizes the doublesidedness of Akbar's efforts. Abul Fazl had once an intention of writing a book on Akbar's miracles. Into all things concerning him, there was breathed an air of mysticism and one can but marvel that his healthy nature reacted so strongly against this poison.

The quiet influence which never relaxed its safeguard was his love of work. That restless activity which linked him with things human protected him

against the perilous life of dreams and transcendental moods. His army required constant attention. By fighting he had risen and he had wars on hand till his death. His excellence as a marksman has been mentioned in connection with the siege of Chítor. It is characteristic of his love of novelty that he should have taken great interest in firearms in a country where little value attached to infantry and almost all to cavalry in its multiform variety. The doubt which has been expressed in some quarters as to the superiority of oriental firearms over European is groundless. Akbar was fond of inspecting the gunshops and liked a good gun whether for war, sport or target practice.

A passage in the 39th Áín, (Book I)* shews that something mystical obtruded itself even into the mode of selecting guns for use; at any rate this is suggested by Professor Blochmann's rendering of Abul Fazl. Out of several thousand guns in the arsenal, one hundred and five were chosen as *kháçah*—for the royal use. There were first twelve in honour of the twelve months, each of which was returned after eleven months of use. Then thirty for every week, one of which was returned and exchanged every seven days. Then thirty-two for the days of the solar months, and fourthly thirty-one or sometimes twenty-eight spare guns† (*kotal.*) The use therefore of guns as of other weapons was arranged to the day. They were always in readi-

* Blochmann, 115. Trs.

† *i. e.*, kept in reserve to supply defects in those in use. Comp. Blochmann, 109. Trs.

ness. For the harem also guns were assigned and their use regulated in a way similar to that of the Emperor's own. The aim of this is unmistakeable: it allowed thorough testing of the arms.

Before Akbar's time, matchlock barrels had been made by hammering out bands of iron on the anvil and then joining two such pieces together at the sides. There being no test for powder these frequently burst at the seam. Under Akbar, the barrels were made by twisting a band of iron and soldering it at the overlying edge. Bars of iron were also pierced while hot with an iron pin. Some guns could be fired without a match and by a slight movement of the cock; many improvements were made and many masters of their craft were found among the gun-makers, of whom Abul Fazl names Ustád Kabír and Husain. This was true also of the artillery. The Áín says that, perhaps with the exception of Turkey, no country defended itself so much with artillery as Hindústán. The heaviest ball used seems to have weighed about 334 *cwt.* and its gun required for transport several elephants and 1000 cattle. Akbar seems to have attached special value to field artillery and devised a light gun, the burden of a single elephant which was called a *gajnál* and may have been of the kind which Nizámuddín used so well in Gujrát. Abul Fazl ascribes to the Emperor yet two inventions, one which should interest the modern world. The first was a gun which could be taken to pieces; the other a kind of *mitrailleuse*, consisting of seventeen guns which could be fired

simultaneously. Organ guns were in use in the west in the 15th century; among the arms depicted by Nicolaus Glockenthon from weapons of Maximilian I. is one called *orgue de danse macabre* and which was composed of forty square tubes firmly united and mounted on a wheeled stand somewhat similar to a gun-carriage.* Whether Akbar really in India invented the death-organ cannot be inferred with certainty from Abul Fazl's curial style but it is sure that he directed close attention to his artillery.

Animals which rendered such good service in transport of artillery as do elephants naturally enjoyed special royal favour. This may be seen from the length, taking in even ontogenistic research, with which Abul Fazl treats of them. That Akbar should pursue the natural-historical side of elephant keeping eagerly and even defy existing prejudices against breeding elephants and raise an excellent caste is too much in keeping with his inquisitive mind to admit of doubt. One out of several anecdotes about elephants recorded in the Áín shows that in his genial moods, the Emperor could tell a hunting story. Abul Fazl had heard from the Emperor that once a young elephant had fallen into a pit and as it was growing night, was left there till next day. When the sportsmen then came to capture it, they found that other elephants had filled up the pit with broken logs and grass and thus enabled the prisoner to escape. One hundred and one elephants were selected as *khâçah*

* Weapons of War. Auguste Demmin, translated, by C. C. Black. p. 65.

from the royal stud which included more than 5000 animals, classified according to strength and age and managed according to elaborate regulations.

In days when there was fighting everywhere and in which cavalry was the principal arm, the least important ruler would give attention to horses. It needs no assurance to show that Akbar did so. Abul Fazl describes the horse as an almost supernatural means for attaining personal greatness and as being of great importance for government. Akbar greatly improved the breed of Indian horses. Dealers came from Arabia and Persia, from Turkey and Túrkestán, from Badakhshán and the Qirghiz steppes, Kashmír and Tibet. From a desire to save their horses from the "hardships of the seasons" Akbar who abhorred cruelty to animals, had special accommodation provided for the dealers. He generally paid for a horse half as much again as was asked and ready money—the object of this last act of consideration being to spare the dealers loss of time in cashing cheques or loss of money in bribing money-dealers.* The officer who had charge of all horses belonging to the government (*átbegí*) was a person of high rank. 'Abdurrahím Mírzá once held the office and the dárogahs of the several stables were, at lowest, senior *ahadís* and sometimes Commanders of 5000. In an empire and state of civilization in which personal importance counted for everything this says enough.

* Blochmann gives a tragic instance of the tyranny of those evil-doers and clearly shows that Akbar had not all departments and classes under control, p. 134. Trs.

Together with horse breeding, that of camels received special attention and the camels of Írán and Túrán were excelled by those of Indian breed. Akbar amongst other contests of animals enjoyed camel fights. The conquest of Gujrát had put him in possession of the best race although Ajmír produced the swiftest and Tattah the best for burden. In another department Gujrát repaid its conquest for, although every part of Hindústán produced cattle, those of Gujrát excelled all. The cost of a couple of best Gujrátí camels might rise to 24 *muhrs* but a yoke of Gujrátí cattle was worth 100 *muhrs*. For the mass of the population of Hindústán there was no question of the value of cattle as food. To them they were sacred and at length were forbidden to all by royal edict. Only milk, butter-milk and butter, —free gifts of the cow—were used. The chief value of cattle was as beasts of burden and draught. Bengal and the Dak'hin produced a kind which knelt to be loaded. Gujrátí oxen must have exceeded horses in speed for they could, according to Professor Blochmann, do 120 miles in 24 hours.

Abul Fazl's remarks on mule breeding are more characteristic of Akbar than of his age. Mules were, in Hindústán, reared only in Pak'hlí, a *sarkár* lying between Aṭak and Kashmír. Hindústánís and others thought it derogatory to ride mules but Akbar had observed their excellent sense of locality and took them under his protection. The lukewarm expression of Abul Fazl that in consequence of Akbar's interest "so great a dislike is nowhere to be found" seems to

show that the royal action did not find general acceptance. Probably the Chagátáï chiefs were unwilling to descend from the horse to the ass. It was apparently in the Kábul and Kashmír campaigns that the mule proved its worth to Akbar and Abul Fazl praises it as the best animal for carrying burdens and for travelling over uneven ground and as having a very soft step.

It may seem unsuitable to say here so much of Akbar's interest in elephants, horses, cattle and mules but it should be remembered that here only leading points are touched and *what* Abul Fazl says and *how* he speaks of the Admiralty should be considered.* With him a strong boat is one which can carry elephants. "Experienced officers look upon ships as if they "were horses and dromedaries and use them as ex-"cellent means of conquest. So especially in Turkey, "Zanzibar and Europe." Although he says that in Bengal, Kashmír and Sindh boats were "the pivot of "all commerce" and although Akbar looked upon "promoting the efficiency of this department as an "act of divine worship," Abul Fazl has only one Áín (filling in Blochmann less than three pages) to bestow on this subject. Large ships were built on the coasts and also at Allahábád and Láhor whence they were sent to the sea. A model of a ship was made in Kashmír and was much admired. The Emperor may have dreamed of creating a fleet which should cope with the Portuguese but he never accomplished this or possessed more armed vessels than those of a river flotilla.

* Book II, Áín 26. Blochmann.

Akbar conferred a benefit on trade by remitting tolls. Certain light dues were exacted in harbour places but these did not exceed two and a half *per cent.* which was "so little compared with the taxes "formerly levied that merchants look upon harbour "taxes as totally remitted." At ferries tolls and fares were combined; half or a third going to the State and the remainder to the boatmen. The charge for crossing was extremely low; 20 people being conveyed for the fortieth part of a *rupí* (one *dám,*) and they were often taken free. For every boat the toll was at the rate of one *rupí* for about 15½ *cwt.* if chartered by its owner, but if hired, the rate was one *rupí* for every five miles. The ferry fares were, for an elephant 4 *annas;* for a laden cart 1⅗ *annas;* for an empty cart ⅘ *anna* for a laden camel, ⅖ *anna;* for an unladen camel, a horse or cattle with their harness (?) ⅕ *anna;* for the same alone ¼ *anna.* The chief importance of quadrupeds was as beasts of burden and to turn wheels of various kinds. À *propos* of carts, some testimony is afforded as to the imperial inventions. Abul Fazl writes that Akbar invented an extraordinary carriage which proved a source of comfort for various people. When not in use for travelling it could be employed for grinding corn. Nizámuddín however attributes this marvel to Amír Fathullah Shírází. The same ascription of invention to Akbar from Fathullah is made with reference to a machine which cleaned sixteen gun barrels simultaneously and was worked by a cow.

Three points may be noted as to these royal inven-

tions: first, they shew that the great Akbar was not proof against flattery: secondly, that when any one wished to attract notice for a novelty, he obtained royal protection for it by ascribing its invention to the Emperor: and thirdly that Akbar must actually have manifested an astonishing activity. The fiction of his inventions could not have been maintained, even by an Abul Fazl, if he had not concerned himself about a multiplicity of things.

The Court chronicler is not silent as to royal eccentricities and records that Akbar found entertainment in setting frogs to catch sparrows, in watching spiders fight and in the efforts of flies to escape from spiders' webs. Such trivialities were a part of the antidote to the daily poison of flattery, against which hunting also was a strong remedial measure. Akbar's passion for sport is witnessed by numerous passages in the writings of Abul Fazl and of Nizámuddín. The former naturally looks, even in this amusement, for something to admire and declares that all good methods of hunting were invented by Akbar.

Ancient and modern examples sufficiently show what royal tiger-hunting was and is in Hindústán.* One could almost pity the harrassed beasts if they were not so destructive of human and animal life. The anecdotes of Akbar show that he took pleasure in the sense of danger, while his love of sport and his skill as a marksman are undoubted. He was moreover a lover of hawking and also had hunting leopards to the number of nine hundred. From all quarters,

* Blochmann, 283ff.

choice hawks were brought to the Court and high prices were paid for well-trained birds. Abul Fazl says that the Emperor allowed dealers, a reasonable price but that from motives of equity, he limited the price to be paid for hawks. For horses on the other hand, he paid more than was asked. This variation of practice bespeaks praise for though horses could subserve luxury they were not as falcons were, luxuries. Akbar's fancies may occasionally have degenerated into perversions but the wholesome kernel of his character invariably reappears.

Hunting leopards would seem to have been caught in pits and not purchased and Akbar sometimes assisted at their capture. Unfortunately Abul Fazl rarely gives a simple description of any royal hunt, being too much dominated by a tendency to see miracles and being sometimes guilty of astonishing absurdities, as witness the following stories.

"Once a leopard had been caught and without previous training, on a mere hint from his Majesty, it brought in the prey like trained leopards. Those who were present had their eyes opened to the truth and experienced the blessing of prostrating themselves in belief on His Majesty." Again: "Attracted by the wonderful influence of the loving heart of His Majesty, a leopard once followed the imperial suite without collar or chain and, like a sensible human being, obeyed every command and at every leopard chase enjoyed it very much to have its skill brought to the test."

Would Abul Fazl feel no shame at these stories?

It might appear that he had practised some clumsy jugglery with a tame leopard and that servility had tainted the fresh woodland air. Akbar does not seem to have liked the fashion of hunting by *battue* which prevails in Europe and which recals the work of the butcher. He hunted commonly with a small company, sometimes with two or three friends only. Amír Fathullah often left his books to follow him, with powder and shot at his belt, through the deer haunts of jungle or forest.

Nizámuddín, in the 15th year of the reign, has recorded a story of hunting which interrupted a pilgrimage to Ajodhan: "There were many wild asses "in this desert country and His Majesty who had "never hunted this animal was desirous of doing so. "One day as he was journeying on, the scouts brought "information that there was a herd of wild asses in "the vicinity of the camp. He immediately mount-"ed a fleet courser and after a ride of 8 or 10 miles "came in sight of the herd. He got off his horse, and "commanded all his followers to remain quiet. He "himself with four or five Biluchís who were acquain-"ted with the country, approached the herd with guns "in their hands. At the first shot, he struck an ass "and the remainder of the herd, being frightened by "the noise, dispersed. His Majesty cautiously ap-"proached and struck another and so on until sixteen "asses fell by his hand. That day he travelled nearly "34 miles in hunting and at the close returned to the "camp. By his order, the 16 asses were brought into "camp in carts and their flesh was distributed in

"front of the royal tent among the *amírs* and "courtiers. Then he proceeded towards Ajodhan and "on arriving in sight of the place, he went on imme- "diately and performed all the ceremonies of pil- "grimage and distributed his bounty among the poor." This story agrees with the passages already quoted from the Áín and testifies that Akbar was a genuine sportsman who loved toil and could outwit the wary beasts of the wilds.

Many others stories are scattered through all the chronicles of Akbar's life and Abul Fazl has lengthened halts to notice, made on the march to the Panjáb

993 H. in 1585 for the purpose of hunting special game. Akbar with his cult of the sun and his weakness before courtly adulation recals Lewis XIV, the *Roi Soleil*. Lewis also occupied himself with hunting; not from love of sport however but because a tendency to *embonpoint* did not agree with his theatrical sense of fitness. He could ride home in the midst of a hunt. Though there was similarity in more points than one between Lewis and Akbar, Akbar in the genuineness of his love of sport bore a far closer likeness to the knightly Maximilian whose hunting filled much of his time and was the subject of his mature deliberation. Assuredly there is no equality of political importance between the two sportsmen and it can hardly be denied that Maximilian might often have occupied himself with advantage in more weighty affairs than woodcraft. If one would find a parallel with Akbar who, during struggle for empire could follow the track of fleeting game—while outwit-

ting a wary adversary set himself to surprise the keen-sensed antelope and while putting down refractory *amírs* amuse himself with training falcons, dogs or leopards —let Riedel's *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis* be opened and the letters of Albrecht Achilles read in which, at the time when he was defying Charles the Bold and manœuvering with uncanny craft the most adroit diplomatists, he wrote to his wife about beagles and deer stalking.* Precisely as with Akbar, the excitement of the chase was to this "fox of the Germans" a joy and a refreshment. Whatever moral value there is in sport is shewn in the case of Akbar, for it kept awake in him the knowledge that he was human. *In sano corpore, mens sana.* When speaking of Akbar's liking for spider and frog fights, Blochmann draws attention to Abul Fazl's efforts to bring the Emperor's sporting propensities into harmony with his character of spiritual guide. His observations are just and approve themselves, but there is room for belief in a higher motive for the devotion of lengthened periods to hunting. There are two considerations which justify this conclusion. The first is the fact that the Emperor spent most of his time in moving from place to place—"on tour" as the modern term has it. With the apparatus of government, went his hunting equipage and sport claimed much time. Is it likely that a man who had conquered an Empire such as his, should have wasted so much of his life without aim? Assuredly not. Like modern

* Briefe der Kurfürstin Anna v. Brandenburg. Historisches Jahrbuch IV. Heft 2, Muenchen. 1883. G. v. Buchwald.

government officials to whom government order prescribes lengthened annual tours and who, without detriment to their work, contrive to compass some sport, so did Akbar; he hunted and at the same time, gave an eye to everything which affected the condition of the people. His progresses, whether designated hunting or administrative, admirably subserved the aims of a personal and paternal despotism. The second consideration is afforded by his many-sided character. With each year the consciousness that he was the focus of observation and that he, for weal or woe, affected the fortunes of numbers, must have forced itself upon him. Was it not natural that he should endeavour to give an appearance of distinction to even his common-place actions? He knew that he loved sport as other men use; his ambition would lead to an effort to excel in this; if this did not sufficiently isolate him, he had to graft on it some higher aim. From this point of view, Abul Fazl deserves credence in his statement that the hunting expeditions served for unannounced inquiry into the condition of the people and the army and that Akbar would travel *incognito* and examine various affairs while he lifted up the oppressed and punished the oppressors.

In reviewing the life of Akbar in his court, it stands out as remarkable that what was great in him should have preserved its noble quality so comparatively untainted. The atmosphere which he breathed, favoured in every way the growth of weaknesses and faults. In spite of this, he maintained self-empire

and this by one of his best qualities—his love of work. Even as to the question of his deification, judgment may be mild. He knew the history of his forefathers; it shewed him that kingdoms built on a single life vanished in the tide of time; he saw that creeds only—Christian, Muhammadan and Hindú—rose from the whirlpool of destruction; if his creation of Empire was to endure, kingship must blend with priesthood and for this, he clothed himself in the splendours of divinity.

SECTION V.

THE EMPEROR AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWER AND HIS DEATH.

CHAPTER I.

The kingdoms of the Dak'hin and preparations for their conquest.

Sunní and Shí'ah animosity had long distracted those southern kingdoms of the Indian peninsula by conquest of which Akbar thought to crown his career. He had set it before him to quiet the unrest of lesser states by welding them into a great empire and his inner feelings justified him in stepping forward as a redeemer from discord and embroilment. Only war and conquest could lead him to his goal.

A part of the Dak'hin had been overrun and plun-
693 H. dered in 1293-94 by 'Aláuddín Khiljí and after his accession to the throne of Dihlí, he renewed his invasion in several expeditions.*

Other inroads were made by the successors of 'Aláuddín, Mubárak of his house and Ghiásuddín the first of the Toghlaqs. Not alone zeal for the faith tempted marauders across the Narbadah but at least in equal measure, the fame of the riches of southern

* In his time falls the romantic episode of princess Déwal Dewí which had the special interest of giving, with one example of compulsory marriage of a Rájpútní and a Musalman, another which was voluntary. Elphinstone, 339. Trs.

India, for far and wide had spread the renown of the diamonds of Golcónda, of the pearls of Manaar and of the sandal-wood and spices of the coasts.

These Muhammadan expeditions touched the extreme south of the peninsula under 'Aláuddín and Mubárak but they were little more than renewed raids which left the aboriginal population comparatively unaffected by Islám and the sovereign states in the loosest relation to Dihlí, up to the middle of the 14th century and well into the reign of Muhammad Toghlaq. The oppressions of this man whose cruelties bordered on madness, determined a general rebellion. This was initiated in 1338 by his
739 H. own nephew in Málwah and followed in
748 H. province after province, until in 1347 it was joined by some of the royal *amírs* of the Dak'hin.

"Thus," writes Firishtah,* "in a few months, the "territory of the Dak'hin which had been conquered "in a long series of campaigns and at a vast expense "of blood and treasure, seemed about to be snatched "from the hands of the king of Dihlí." The malcontents chose a king, an Afghán named Ismá'íl Khán, but he abdicated in favour of Hasan who was a native of Dihlí and servant of a *bráhman* astrologer. Hasan had made himself a name as a soldier and bore the title of Zafar Khán which on his accession he changed for the designation of 'Aláuddín Hasan Sháh Gunga Bahmaní: the last two names being assumed in honour of his earlier master Gunga, the *bráhman*. He gained over all the royal officers and founded the

* Briggs II, 287.

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Bahmaní dynasty which ruled the Dak'hin for 171 years.

The Muhammadans of the Dak'hin were in less numerical strength compared with the indigenous inhabitants than were their co-religionists in Hindústán and could moreover look for no reinforcement from the north. The sea however, gave entry to other immigrants who impressed on the history of the Dak'hin their own peculiar stamp. Between Cape Komorin and the mouth of the Taptí, there had long existed colonies of sea-faring Arabs and to their ports came large numbers of Abyssinian mercenaries who either found their own country too mountainous for profitable existence, or the opposition of monophysite Christians too strong to be faced. They were Sunnís. Shí'ism sent in its representatives also by sea but from another quarter. The land route to the treasures of southern India was rendered difficult to Persians (Parsís) by the marauding habits of the Afgháns and by disturbance in Hindústán. They therefore entered India by the western ports and brought with them considerable intelligence and ardent enthusiasm for Shí'ism. The Bahmaní kings fostered the immigration of co-religionists of whichever sect and promoted commercial intercourse for an obvious reason:—the Muhammadans of the Dak'hin were, though dominant, numerically insignificant.

Personal valour had distinguished the rulers of the Bahmaní house when to this virtue the fifth of the line, Mahmúd I, added the reputation for taste and munificence; his

1378 A. D.
780 H.

court at Gulbarga was the resort of poets from Arabia and Persia; even Háfiz the prince of song planned to visit it. King Mahmúd had sent Háfiz an invitation through Mír Faiz Anju who was himself both judge and poet and who sent Háfiz a gift and a promise of welcome and of safe conduct back to his home in Shíráz. Háfiz shipped at Ormuz but hardly was the anchor weighed than a storm came down which obliged the boat to put back to port. The poet suffered so much that he entreated to be landed and abandoned his voyage. By a fellow-traveller, he sent to Mír Faiz the following poetic excuse:

"The breeze of my garden is not to be purchased by the possession of the world."

"My companions rebuked me and said "Quit this spot? What whim "hath possessed thee that thy cell is not to be valued?"

"Yonder royal crown, on which is set danger of life, is a heart enticing "ornament, but not worth my loss of head."

"From desire of pearls, the dangers of the sea appeared easy to me, but "I mistook: for one wave is not to be appeased by treasures of gold."

"Is my heart dispirited on the assembly of friendship?

"All the gildings of art are not worth a single cup of generous wine."

"If Háfiz chooses to retire from the world, contented with a little, hundreds "of pieces of gold are not worth one instant of vexation."

The ode pleased the king who observed that, as Háfiz had set out to visit him, he ought not to remain without proof of the royal liberality and accordingly commissioned one of the learned men of Gulbarga to purchase with 1,000 pieces of gold whatever would be likely to prove acceptable and to send it to the poet at Shíráz.* In 1401 when Fírúz Sháh Bahmaní filled the Dak'hin throne, ru-

804 H.

* Firishtah, Briggs II, 347. Scott 55.

mours reached Gulbarga that Timur had conferred Hindústán on one of his sons with orders to conquer the whole country. Fírúz knew the significance of Tartar conquests and sent ambassadors to offer Timur feudal service, in return for which he received Gujrát and Málwah and was permitted to use the royal insignia. The kings of Málwah, Gujrát and Khándesh openly courted the friendship of Timur's man but secretly entered into alliance against him with the Raí of Bíjáynagar. From this time the history of the Dak'hin is a dreary waste of strife in which opportunity was given and used for bloody conflict of creeds. The Bahmaní line closed with Mahmúd II, in 1518 and from the ruins of its kingdom rose (between 1489 and 1512) the independent states of Bíjápúr, Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Bidr and Barár.

924 H.

894 H. and 918 H.

The Hindu ruler of Bíjáynagar, Rám Rájah long maintained his place amongst the other and Muhammadan powers of the Dak'hin and took part in their wars and confederacies. At length, he excited their jealousy and anger by his encroachments to such a degree that they leagued against him and a battle was fought on 26th December 1564, 20 miles from Tálikóta, on the Krishna in which the Rájah was defeated and to the shame of his conquerors, put to death in cold blood. His head was preserved until lately in Bíjápúr.*

20th Jamádi I, 972 H.

* This battle was, for the fierceness of the struggle and the importance of the issues, like to those of the early Muhammadan invasions of Hindústán. Elphistone. 413. Trs.

The victors nevertheless added little to their dominions, for their mutual jealousies checked extension of territory and the Rájah's lands fell for the most part into the hands of petty princes or of those government officers who have become so well known as *zamíndárs* or *poligars*.

The struggle in the Dak'hin for power recalls similar scenes in the Italy of the 14th to the 16th centuries. Here three dynasties attract attention: those of the Nizám Sháhs at Ahmadnagar, the 'Adíl Sháhs of Bíjápúr and the Quṭb Sháhs of Talingánah-Golcónda or Haidarábád. The Baríd Sháhs of Bidr were comparatively insignificant and the Imád Sháhs fell victim to their neighbours of Ahmadnagar and Bíjápúr.

To the north of Ahmadnagar and bordering on Gujrát, lay the small state of Khándesh in the fruitful lower valley of the Taptí. It had belonged to the

772 H. Dihlí empire but somewhere about 1370 and shortly after the accession to power of the Bahmaní dynasty, had made itself independent, and for 200 years was ruled by a family of Arab

984 H. descent, named Fárúqí. In 1576, on the death of Mirán Muhammad Fárúqí, his infant son was set aside by his brother, Rájah 'Alí. Rájah 'Alí had been at Akbár's court in Ágrah and now feeling his position in Khándesh somewhat insecure, acknowledged the emperor's suzerainty.

It was of great importance for the imperial policy to obtain a footing south of the Taptí and freedom of transit through Khándesh to the Dak'hin. Rájah 'Alí whom we shall follow to the end of his career,

was a man of sense and while assuring to himself the protection of the Emperor did not neglect to cultivate friendly relations with the Sháhs of the Dak'hin. By such means he might have guaranteed peace to his little principality if the tide of the times had not dragged him into Akbar's train. Firishtah says of him that he was a person of superior talents, just as a governor, wise and prudent as a statesman, brave and intrepid as a warrior and possessing a high spirit and laudable ambition: that he was the idol of his people and neither engaged in wars of conquest nor patiently permitted his country to be invaded: he employed his time in reading with doctors of the Hanafí sect and in the cultivation of the arts.* On one occasion only, he came into collision with the Emperor and a sketch of the causes of this forms a fitting introduction to later imperial attempts on the Dak'hin.

991 H. In 1583, when Çalábat Khán held the reins of government in Ahmadnagar, as *vakíl* for his insane sovereign, Murtazá Nizám Sháh, his arbitrary dealings aroused great dissatisfaction and this especially amongst the *amírs* of Barár. Several of these took up arms in self defence and foremost amongst them were Mír Murtazá Khán, a Khurásání Sayyid of Sabzwár who had formerly held high office under Murtazá Sháh, and Khudáwand Khán i Dak'hiní, a Shí'ah of Persian descent and noted for his im-

* Briggs IV, 322. This appreciative estimate of character speaks the more strongly for the impartiality of the historian that he was himself a known Shí'ah.

posing stature and his bravery.* In 1583-84 these allies marched against Ahmadnagar and were surprised and routed by Çalábat Khán. Both consequently betook themselves to Akbar who bestowed on each a command of One Thousand.†

992 H.

The time seeming favourable for interference, the Emperor in 1585-6 ordered 'Azíz Kokah, the Khán i A'zam, to effect the conquest of Barár. An army concentrated at Hindiá on the Barár frontier, having with it 300 elephants and artillery. Many noted leaders gathered their forces to Hindiá and amongst them, Shihábuddín Khán who had been accused of participating in the murder of Atgah Khán, the father of 'Azíz Kokah. This participation the Mírzá could neither forget nor forgive and the royal army remained inactive in consequence of the ill-feeling between these two commanders. Mír Fathullah vainly tried to bring about a reconciliation: 'Azíz was a passionate man and insulted both him and Shiháb. In deep offence, the latter went to his *jágír* whither 'Azíz followed and a most disastrous collision was avoided only by the timely success of Mír Fathullah's mediation. When Rájah 'Alí of Khándesh saw the dissensions in the royal army, he marched against Mír Fathullah who, after vainly trying to win him over to the imperial cause, withdrew to Gujrát.

994 H.

'Azíz Kokah at length put his army in motion,

* The latter, it may be said, subsequently married a sister of Abul Fazl but does not seem to have assorted perfectly with his literary brother-in-law. Blochmann, 442. Trs.

† Blochmann, 442 and 449. Trs.

moved on Barár and plundered Ílichpúr. The Dak'hinís followed him, march by march and he fell back, notwithstanding his great strength, some 200 miles to Nandurbár. From this place, he asked reinforcements from the Khán-Khánán and these were despatched under Nizámuddín Ahmad. No further operations were attempted as it was determined to wait until the close of the monsoon. Rájah 'Alí had therefore, on this occasion taken up a position opposed to the Emperor. This he may well have done for the protection of his own state from the ravages of the Mughul army which traversed it for a great part of its length. At this time, Akbar's attention was diverted from the south by the threatening aspect of affairs in the north-west and operations were suspended. The wounds of Khándesh healed and some three years later friendly relations were renewed; at any rate, the Emperor sought Rájah 'Alí as an ally in his interference in the troubles of the Nizám Sháh dynasty.

Burhán Nizám Sháh II who reigned from 1590 to 1594, was, as a young man, imprisoned by
999 to 1003. his brother Murtazá Sháh in the fort of Lohgaṛh but released by a court party who alleged that Murtazá was by his insanity rendered incapable of ruling. Burhán made two unsuccessful attempts at an interval of two years, to possess himself of the throne and then sought refuge at Akbar's court where he received a *jágír* in Bangash. His sons, Ibráhím and Ismá'íl remained in confinement in Lohgaṛh. In

997 H. 1588, Murtazá was murdered by his own son, Mirán Husain who was himself deposed in less than a year by his minister, Mírzá Khán in favour of his cousin and Burhán's son, Ismá'íl. This nomination, as being the act of foreigners was at first opposed by a man who had considerable power amongst the Dak'hinís, Jamál Khán. His opposition issued in hideous atrocities and a massacre of foreigners; after which he awarded his support likewise to Ismá'íl and practically governed for him.

Jamál Khán was a Mahdawí; one of a sect which held that the promised Imám Mahdí ap-
957 H. peared in 1550 in person of a certain Sayyid Muhammad. There were circumstances which bore in the Sayyid's favour and he was accepted by many. Jamál Khán was of these and came to be regarded as the head of the sect in Ahmadnagar. He persuaded the king to recognize the new Mahdí and to commit the government to co-believers. In the beginning of Ismá'íl's reign, the few foreigners who had escaped massacre were banished and their property confiscated. Most of the exiles took refuge in Bíjápúr and amongst their number was Muhammad Qásim Firishtah,* the historian to whom the world owes the invaluable records of the kings of the Dak'hin. After a time, Jamál's persecutions roused the chiefs of Barár. They released Çalábat Khán who had been confined at Kehrla on the Barár frontier and in conjunction with him, determined to expel Jamál from Ahmadnagar. Simultaneously

* Briggs. III, 277 ff.

there moved from the south, with the same object. Diláwar Khán the former regent of Ibráhím 'Adíl Sháh. Jamál totally defeated Çalábat, at Patan on the Godáwárí and then turned against the Bíjápúrís. For fifteen days, the rival armies faced one another, then peace was made on terms which gave to the Bíjápúrís a war indemnity of 850,000 pounds sterling* and also restored to them, together with a princess born of Bíjápúr, the celebrated Chánd Bíbi, daughter of Husain Nizám Sháh and widow of 'Alí 'Adíl Sháh. Of her talents as a ruler and a soldier more will be said. Çalábat Khán was now some seventy years old and asked and obtained permission to go to his own country. Thither he went in 1589 and there at Tálígáon, 20 miles north of Poona, died within a year of his retirement. He was buried at Ahmadnagar in a mausoleum which he had prepared for himself during his ministry and which is still a point of beauty in that picturesque city. Jamál Khán on the other hand strengthened his already strong position.

998 H.

This brief sketch will suffice to show that at the time when the Emperor thought right to interfere in the Dak'hin, its affairs were in hopeless confusion. Now if ever, was the time for interposition and this Akbar planned to effect by seating Burhán on the throne of Ahmadnagar, in return for which he desired the cession of Barár and an acknowledgment of his suzerainty. He summoned Burhán from his *jágír* at Bangash and offered him men and arms to dis-

* *Nalbaha*, the price of horse shoes. Trs.

possess his son Ismá'íl. Burhán appears to have divined Akbar's intentions and to have been willing to owe him thanks for assistance, because this was unavoidable, but not to be indebted to him for everything. Abul Fazl calls him ungrateful. He answered the royal offer sensibly enough by saying that a Mughul army would alarm the Dak'hinís but that if allowed to gather his adherents on the frontier, he would endeavour to win the Nizám Sháhís by conciliation. The Emperor agreeing to this, allotted Hindiá to him for his maintenance until such time as he should have made good his claim on Ahmadnagar. At the same time, he asked for Burhán, the assistance of Rájah 'Alí. Having gathered a considerable following, Burhán risked and lost a battle. He renewed the attempt a little later when reinforced from Khándesh, Bíjápúr and also, from Ahmadnagar. Jamál Khán with a force which included 10,000 Mahdawís, moved first against the Bíjápúrís, detaching some troops to hold Rájah 'Alí and Burhán in check on the frontier. In an engagement at a village called Darsan he was successful and captured 300 elephants. Four days later, he heard that the Barár troops had gone over to Burhán and countermarched towards Burhán's position, followed closely by the Bíjápúrís. Many of his men deserted but he relied on his Mahdawís and with these proceeded to the Rohank'herah *ghat* which he found occupied by the enemy. To evade the difficulty of forcing a passage, he took another road, almost impracticable and destitute of water. He had chosen his camping ground, when word was brought

to him that there was water six miles further on. Thither he marched, only to find the place occupied by his adversaries. His men were weary and could neither proceed nor retreat. When they had satisfied their thirst, he gave the order to engage. The fight inclined to his favour, but he fell by a chance shot and his death was defeat, for his men, having no other leader, fled. Ismá'íl Nizám Sháh was captured by his father and imprisoned.

Burhán acquired the throne in 1590; he was no
999 H. longer young but he gave himself up to
pleasures which beseemed neither his age nor his dignity. In other matters than pleasure, he had learned little from life. His first act was to annul Jamál's edicts respecting the Mahdawí doctrines and to expel their professors. Thus Shí'ism was restored in all its earlier glory. Within a short time after his accession, he embroiled himself both with Bíjápúr and the Portuguese colonists of Chaul and Revdánda. The military actions which ensued are so far of interest that they essentially lightened Akbar's work in the conquest of the Dak'hin. In 1590, the Emperor
999 H. thought fit to substantiate such ancient
title as his descent from Timur might be supposed to justify, to supremacy in the Dak'hin. The choice of time was dictated partly by his own freedom to act in the south and partly by Burhán's position. Burhán began his reign with war and few alliances; it seemed to the Emperor that he would be driven to ask help and in this contingency be disposed to cede Barár and acknowledge himself as suzerain. If how-

ever, Burhán made such a recognition, it was imperative that Bíjápúr and Golcónda (Haidarábád) should do likewise. Abul Fazl* states that Burhán misconducted himself in his government and that for this reason Akbar determined to take steps to procure better behaviour. It is however pretty clear that one part of his misconduct consisted in his non-recognition of that duty to the Emperor which involved acknowledgement of suzerainty.

An embassy was despatched in August 1591 to the four kings of the Dak'hin. Shaikh Faizí was directed to go to Rájah 'Alí and afterwards to proceed to Burhán ul Mulk. Other envoys were sent direct to Ahmadnagar, to Bíjápúr and to Golcónda. Abul Fazl states that the object of the mission was a consultation as to the willingness of the other powers to invade the territories of Burhán, but it is clearly to be inferred that a demand for recognition of the Emperor's suzerainty was made. Firishtah, in mentioning Faizí's return to court, says that he brought word that the Sháhs refused recognition, and Nizámuddín† says that Burhán did not send suitable tribute and that therefore the Emperor determined on war. Rájáh 'Alí seems to have thrown in his lot with Dihlí for his daughter was married in August 1599 to prince Salím.‡ A letter of Faizí is published by Sir Henry Elliot§ which records an interview with Rájáh 'Alí and illustrates at once the perfection of diplomatic oriental etiquette and the exactitude of Akbar's

24th Shariur 999 H.

* Elliot VI, 88. Trs.

† Elliot V, 467. Trs.

‡ Blochmann XVIII. Trs.

§ Vol. VI. 147.

instructions to ambassadors. Rájáh 'Alí was, as has been said, a strict Sunní and the Dak'hin a country in which the Emperor's heterodoxy might easily excite fanatical opposition. Desirable as the spread of Akbar's opinions might be, it was imperative to avoid religious collision as well as everything which might in the smallest degree prejudice the royal dignity. Faizí details in the following letter the minutest means of which he availed himself for these ends.

"After travelling a long distance and accomplish-"ing many stages, I arrived on the 20th of the month "of December (Púr) at a place 50 *kos* "from Burhánpúr and the next day pitch-"ed my camp and arranged my tent in a "manner befitting a servant of the court. The tent "was so arranged as to have two chambers; in the "second or innermost of which, the royal throne was "placed, with the gold-embroidered cushion on it; "over which the canopy of velvet, worked with gold, "was erected. The royal sword and the dresses were "placed on the throne, as well as your Majesty's letter, "whilst men were standing around with folded hands. "The horses also which were to be given away, were "standing in their proper place. Rájáh 'Alí Khán, ac-"companied by his followers and the *vakíl* and magis-"trate of the Dak'hín approached with that respect "and reverence that betokened their obedience and "good will to your Majesty. They dismounted some "distance from the tent and were admitted into the out-"er chamber. They approached respectfully and were "permitted to proceed onwards. When they entered

1591 A.D.
999 H.

"the second chamber, and saw the royal throne at "some distance from them, they saluted it and advan- "ced with bare feet. When they arrived at a cer- "tain distance, they were directed to stand and make "three salutations which they did most respectfully, "and continued standing in the place. I then took "the royal letter in both hands, and calling him a "little nearer, said, 'His Majesty, the vicegerent of "God, has sent your Highness two royal orders, with "the greatest condescension and kindness,—this is one.' "On this, he took the letter and put it on his head "respectfully and saluted it three times. I then said, "'His Majesty has bestowed on your Highness, a dress "of honour.' Upon this he bowed, kissed it, and bowed "again. In the same way, he did homage to the "sword, and bowed every time your Majesty's name "was mentioned. He then observed, 'I have for "years wished to be seated in your presence,' and "at the same time, he appeared anxious to do so. "Whereupon I requested him to be seated and he "respectfully sat down in your humble servant's "presence. When a fitting opportunity offered itself, "I addressed him warily and said I could show him "how he might promote his interest; but that the chief "part of my discourse consisted of praises and eulogi- "ums of your Majesty. He replied that he was a devo- "ted servant of your Majesty and considered himself "highly favoured that he had seen your Majesty's good- "will and favour. I replied, 'His Majesty's kindness "towards you is great, he looks upon you as a most "intimate friend and reckons you among his confi-

"dential servants; the greatest proof of which is that "he has sent a man of rank to you.' At this he "bowed several times and seemed pleased. During "this time I twice made signs that I wished the "audience to close, but he said, 'I am not yet "satisfied with my interview, and wish to sit here till "the evening.' He sat there for four or five *gharis* "(an hour and a half). At last the betel-leaf and "scents were brought. I asked him to give them "to me with his own hand. I gave him several pieces "of my betel with my own hand, at which he bowed "several times. I then said, 'Let us repeat the prayer "for the eternal life and prosperity of his Majesty,' "which he did most respectfully and the audience "was broken up. He then went and stood respect-"fully in his place at the edge of the carpet opposite "the throne. The royal horses were there. He kissed "the reins, placed them on his shoulder and saluted "them. He then took his departure. My attendant "counted and found that he made altogether twenty-"five *salaams*. He was exceedingly happy and "contented. When he first came in, he said, 'If you "command me, I am ready to make 1,000 *salaams* in "honour of his Majesty, I am ready to sacrifice my "life for him.' I observed, 'Such conduct befits "friendship and feeling such as yours, but his Ma-"jesty's orders forbid such adoration and whenever "the courtiers perform such adoration out of their "feelings of devotion, his Majesty forbids them, for "such acts of worship are for God alone.'"

By obtaining the alliance of Khándesh, the Emperor

had assured a valuable basis for future military operations. The negociations with Rájah 'Alí were in progress in the third week of December 1591. Rapid negociations were not the oriential rule and an envoy had often long to wait before accomplishing his mission. Faizí consumed from August 1591 to May 1593 in going and returning and in effecting his ends at the several Dak'hiní courts.

Deh 999 H.

24th Shariur 999 H. to 28th Ardi-bihisht 1001 H.

A brief sketch of the doings of Burhán in 1591 and 1592 will give an insight into the connection of single incidents narrated by Abul Fazl, such as allows the presumption that the conquest of the Dak'hin was determined upon before his embassy left Hindústán.

Immediately on his accession, Burhán embroiled himself with Bíjápúr by receiving with favour Diláwar Khán, the banished minister of Ibráhím Adíl Sháh. Ibráhím requested the surrender of the rebel and also the return of the 300 elephants which had been lost to Jamál Khán at Darsan.* It was certainly unwise in Burhán who was aware of Akbar's designs on the Dak'hin to reject these in no way extravagant demands. A close alliance of the three chief states might, with the assistance of Rájah 'Alí and the southern rájahs have bidden defiance to the Mughul army which was itself not free from mutinous elements. Burhán however, was guilty of allowing himself to be entrapped into a declaration of war with Bíjápúr by the octogenarian Dilawar Khán. This crisis can hardly have been a favourable time for raising the momentous questions

* Firíshtah, Briggs, III, 284 and 170 ff.

with which the Dihlí embassy was charged and it is probable* that the envoys voluntarily awaited the termination of the campaign. In March 1592, Burhán entered the Bíjápúr territory and advanced without meeting opposition as far as Mangalwara. The absence of opposition was taken by him for a military ruse to draw him further into the interior and he would have returned if Diláwar Khán had not persuaded him to advance to a point on the Bhíma where lay the ruins of a fort which he repaired and fortified. Ibráhím 'Adíl Sháh had actually taken no measures for defence. He observed that Burhán would shortly act like a child who builds walls of clay and then destroys them with his own hands. He had notwithstanding, formed a plan of action which answered his ends. The narrative of these matters is of no great importance but it shows the manner of the men and likewise the superiority of Akbar over his contemporaries, even in his expeditions for conquest.

Jumáda Saní 1000 H.

When Ibráhím judged the time ripe, he invited Diláwar to return to his own service and assume his former post. He said that he was now aware of the wrong he had done to a worthy subject and promised the utmost consideration. It is probable that Diláwar thought the threat conveyed by Burhán's military movement had alarmed Ibráhím to such a degree that the latter saw safety only in his, Diláwar's, own talents.

* It is known from a letter of recommendation written by Shaikh Faizí to the Emperor for Badáoní that the embassy was in Ahmádnagar in Feb. 1592. (Jamáda Awwal 1000 H.) A. S. J. 38, p. 137. Trs.

Diláwar accepted the invitation with joy, stipulating only for safety of life and property. This being assured and Burhán's consent having been given, Diláwar set out, undeterred by Burhán's assertions that he was going to destruction, for that no king could forgive conduct such as his had been. Probably the old intriguer thought he had now both kings in hand. He arrived in Bíjápúr at evening and just as Ibráhím Sháh was returning in state from the garden of the twelve Imáms. Diláwar paid his respects and joined the royal train. A short time after, the King ordered a certain Elias Khán to let Diláwar experience in person his favourite punishment of putting out eyes. The victim vainly pleaded the royal promise of immunity: he was reminded that loss of eyesight destroyed neither life nor property. He ended his days —he was then over eighty—blinded and a prisoner at Sattára.

Now that he was rid of this formidable enemy, Ibráhím armed against Burhán. Their conflict was speedily ended by Burhán's discomfiture who was compelled to raze to the ground—he himself casting down the first stone—the fortress he had erected on the Bhíma. He returned home repenting his unprovoked attack on his neighbour. It was perhaps now, perhaps later, for Burhán forthwith vented his spleen on another adversary, the Portuguese, that the imperial envoys presented their demand for submission to Dihlí. If the embassy was still in Ahmadnagar, the far-seeing Emperor may have ordered delay in the execution of his mission, for Burhán and events were working for

him. Akbar, though willing to learn from them, undoubtedly regarded the Portuguese with the mistrust he expressed in a letter to 'Abdullah Khán of Túrán. Even omitting them from the question, every war weakened the fighting power of Ahmadnagar.

It was in some later month of 1592 (first half of 1001 H.) that Burhán marched against Revdánda and Chaul. He detached a force to build a fort at the mouth of the harbour of Revdánda which should block its entrance and to which the name of Kherla was afterwards given. The Portuguese effected an escape by night and returned with reinforcements from Bassein and Salsette which brought up their numbers to 15,000 Europeans and as many native soldiers. They attacked and defeated the Muhammadans and inflicted a loss of three or four thousand men. Burhán reinforced Kherla with a force of 4000 and appointed Bahádur Khán Gílání its governor. Revdánda was to be blockaded and the passage of troops which were expected by the Portuguese was to be hindered. The Portuguese made a second attack but the Muhammadans were on this occasion too watchful to be taken by surprise and inflicted a loss of 100 European and 200 native soldiers. After this the blockade was so complete that no assistance could come in by sea and the place was on the point of capitulation when Burhán himself thwarted success: he had been guilty of such tyranny in Ahmadnagar that many of his officers left the camp and repaired to the capital. Foreign reinforcements at once entered the harbour; 60 ships passed Kherla by night and landed 4000 men. At

dawn they attacked Khelna and obtaining possession of it, perpetrated a massacre of 12,000 Muhammadans.

And Burhán? did he now league with the other Sháhs to expel this dangerous and common foe? Did he seek aid from Dihlí? Far from it, he regarded the destruction of the Dak'hinís as a stroke of good fortune, elevated foreigners to all the principal offices and was on the point of sending some of them against the Portuguese when his attention was distracted to another matter.

Before following his course further, it will be well to notice the preparations which the Emperor was making for profiting by Burhán's conduct of affairs and for effecting, together with the conquest of the Dak'hin, the linking of his sons by ties of personal interest to his imperial policy.

Málwah and Gujrát were the bases of preparatory operations. Gujrát had been for some three years up to the beginning of 1592-3, under the government of the Khán i A'zam, 'Azíz Kokah Mírzá. His management of the province had given entire satisfaction to the Emperor, but this notwithstanding, Abul Fazl records* that the Mírzá became the prey of groundless suspicion that his sovereign's heart was alienated from him. A result of these suspicions was that when summoned to court, he did not obey but left his province and set forth for Makkah, whither he had long desired to go. Akbar was so far from resenting this, that he prayed for the protection of heaven on the traveller. Gujrát by a

1001 H.

* Chalmers II, 472.

20th Ardibihisht 1001 H.

farmán dated 21st April 1593, was bestowed on Prince Murád. The story as thus told seems utterly improbable, notwithstanding that it is given with a fulness of detail into which we have not followed the chronicler. The obscure point is the cause of 'Azíz' suspiciousness. Nizámuddín attributes it to mischief-makers who reported some unkind words which the Emperor was said to have used regarding him. It is perhaps to be read between the lines that he had heard from friends at court that the Emperor wished to give Gujrát to one of his sons, so that he too might pluck some Dak'hin laurels. This might well arouse the Khán i A'zam's anger and as he was both determined and self-willed, his irritation may have found vent in the act of insubordination committed by desertion of his province.*

7th Mihir 1001 H.

The next step taken against the Dak'hin was the appointment, on 21st September 1593, of Sháhrukh Mírzá to Málwah. He had for three years desired this province and now relieved Prince Murád in its government: he was raised to the rank of a *Panjhazárí*—commander of 5000—and dismissed with a large following to his *jágír*. His adventurous and audacious character are well known to us from the story of his self-created misfortunes in Badakhshán. His present elevation and reward are clearly indemnifications for coming armament.

The refusal of the Sháhs to recognize Akbar's

* The following authorities place his pilgrimage in the 38th year; Chalmers II, 472; Bird, 424: the following in the 39th; Blochmann, 326; Briggs II, 268. Trs.

supremacy had reached the court with Faizí on 7th May, 1593, but it was not till September of the same year that an effort at mobilization was made, a delay probably due to a desire to avoid both the hot season and the rainy in the field. Burhán maintained the same insubmissive attitude as before but the Emperor does not seem to have thought well to send further remonstrance.

In the course of 1593, Akbar moved from Láhor to Ágrah with the intention of appointing
1001 H. there an army for the Dak'hin but his scheme was frustrated by a famine which forbad the assembling of troops in that neighbourhood.* Prince Danyál was therefore ordered to march to the south and under his command were placed the Khán-khánán, Rái Singh and other *jágírdárs* with a complete equipment of artillery and elephants. Sháhrukh and Sháhbaz and other *jágírdárs* of the Málwah province were ordered to join the army; so too Mán Singh from Bengal, if the state of his province permitted his absence. Prince Murád was told to hold himself in readiness in Gujrát. Having made these arrangements, Akbar started to return to Láhor intending to hunt at Sulṭánpúr by the way. He left Ágrah on
13th Deh. the 24th December and on the 31st heard
20th Deh. the unwelcome news that Murád was still in Sirhind. An urgent letter was despatched to hasten his movements. At Shaikhpúr, the Khán-khánán had an interview with the Emperor and represented that the best time for an invasion of

* Chalmers II, 481 *ff*. Trs.

the Dak'hin would be after the rains when provision would be most abundant. This postponed the operations some eight months but the suggestion was accepted. It seems pretty clear that the princes were not a ductile element in mobilization. Danyál was recalled and appointed to the Panjáb and Akbar announced his intention of leading the army in person at the close of the *monsun*. This expression of intention may be merely the phrase customary with Abul Fazl when all has not gone according to the desire of his master, but there was much in the insubordination of the princes and the squabbles of the grandees to cause the Emperor to form such a resolution. To avert the anger of the disobedient Murád who, having been peremptorily ordered to set forward, would probably be irritated at the countermanding of his services, Qulij Khán was sent to convey to him the royal change of purpose. This piece of solicitude for one who at the end of the year had not joined the appointment conferred on the 21st April, certainly suggests over-indulgence.

Akbar's war with the Dak'hinís began when they themselves called in the Mughuls and this fact better explains the inaction of the Emperor than single misadventures and petty difficulties amongst his commanders.

CHAPTER II.

*The Downfall of Dak'hin Independence.**

Burhán Nizám Sháh's new policy was little more than revenge for defeat at the hands of Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh by alliance with Ismá'il, a brother of Ibráhím who having rebelled had, in May 1594, seized the fortress of Belgám. Ramazán 1002 H. The prelude to Ismá'il's revolt, as recorded by Firishtah is highly characteristic of the powers of the Dak'-hin whose dissensions made their subjection possible to Dihlí. "Prince Ṭahmásp"—a brother of the late 'Ádil Sháh—"had two sons, Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh and "the prince Ismá'il. The latter was brought up with "his brother till he arrived at the age of puberty "when Diláwar Khán sent him to be kept prisoner in "the fortress of Belgám, according to the usual policy "of governments. After the expulsion of the Regent, "Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh sent one of his confidential ser-"vants to his brother, to express his concern that "reasons of State did not permit him to satisfy the

* The authorities for the following chapter are Firishtah (Briggs II, 270 ff.: III, 175 ff. 286 ff. and IV, 325 ff) Faizí Sarhindí, (Elliot VI, 131 ff. :) Abul Fazl (Elliot VI, 95. ff.: Gladwin II, 64. Chalmers 516 ff., Blochmann's *Áín i Akbarí* XXI ff.) History of the Mongols, Howorth Part III. 737 ff. Memoir of the operations of the British army during the Mahratta war; Lt. Col. Valentine Blacker, p. 412 ff. London 1821. *Description of Hindústán*, W. Hamilton, II, 102. Gazetteer of Central Provinces ed. C. Grant 1870 (page 8). Imperial Gazetteer of India, I. (Ásír).

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"desire he had that they should live in the same place "together and to assure him of every indulgence and "mark of affection consistent with his situation. At "the same time, he sent orders to the governor of "Belgám to give the prince Ismá'il the full liberty "of the fort and to provide him with every conveni-"ence and amusement that could make his captivi-"ty less irksome; he also allowed him a monthly "income of one thousand *hoons* (some £400) for his "private expenses. The prince for some time seemed "satisfied with his condition; but suddenly losing "all sense of the generosity of his brother, conspired "against him and by degrees, bringing over the gover-"nor and garrison of Belgám to his interest and secret-"ly corrupting many of the officers of the Court, took "possession of the fort and openly raised the standard "of revolt."

To this record of conspiracy, Firishtah might well have added "according to the habit of princes." The wealth, brilliancy and artistic facility which marked the courts of the Dak'hin cannot blind one to their ethical backwardness. Without the spiritual freedom of the Italian humanist period—for here all thought is coerced into a Sunní or Shí'ah mould—the Dak'hin courts has the Italian cult of the individual, Italian egoism and Italian *condottieri*. A reader of Firishtah who has not grown accustomed to the sound of orien-tal names would not wonder if a printer's error brought into his pages a Visconti Khán or an Ezzelinoda Romano Sháh. It is certainly not unjust to measure Akbar, the destroyer of these creatures, with the rood

of *il Principe*. He too shares many of the faults of his age; he is at once acquisitive and generous; passionate and patient; inexorable and gentle; adroit to wiliness in politics but yet open-hearted and sincere; in brief, he shares in all the faults of his age but in less degree than in its virtues. What he has not in common with his contemporaries are their weakness, their vacillation and their faithlessness. In place of these is a colossal, determined egoism which feels itself to be so vast that it needs no nutriment from the world but on the contrary can itself serve the world as a fountain to be drunk at.

This must be borne in mind by whoever follows Akbar's conquests. He regarded himself as the redeemer of the peoples from the bondage of war and oppression; in this too a mystic breath passed over his spirit. Was he wrong? Was this but the self-deception of a conquest-craving Timurid? The reply to these ever recurring questions is given by a comparison of the countries which the Empire now held pacified and in part actually in peace, with those which are depicted in the following sketch of the downfall of the independence of the Dak'hin.

Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh was at first unwilling to proceed to extremities against Ismá'il but there is a doubtful sound in the reason for his reluctance as given by Firishtah who says, that the king attributed his brother's behaviour chiefly to the treachery of some of his ungrateful nobles. The question naturally arises, could the king at once have ventured on war if his great feudatories were untrustworthy?

Ibráhím sent the venerable Sháh Núr 'Álam to admonish Ismá'il and to offer him pardon if he would lay aside his extravagant designs. Ismá'il answered by imprisoning the "holy man" and by expediting military preparations. The first act was an unwarrantable outrage, the second rational; for how far was the man who had blinded Diláwar Khán to be trusted? It was not to be expected that Ismá'il should pass his life at Belgám, in even a gilded cage.

Ibráhím was much incensed at the ill-treatment of his envoy and directed Elias Khán (the agent of his vengeance on Diláwar) to besiege Belgám to the possession of which fort Ismá'il was restricted while awaiting the arrival of reinforcements from Ahmadnagar. By Ibráhím's orders, Elias Khán was reinforced by the *Amír ul umará*, 'Ain ul Mulk and the dealings of this latter commander may serve as a specimen of the Dak'hin loyalty of his day. Nominally in the king's service, he was secretly attached to prince Ismá'il's cause and from the royal camp maintained correspondence with him and provided him with stores. Intelligence of these doings reached the ears of Ibráhím and he summoned 'Ain ul Mulk to court in order to sift out the mater. Afraid that refusal would confirm suspicion, the traitor set out with a large following. He acted with such art, that the king of Bíjápúr remained in doubt as to his guilt. Firishtah describes the audience given to the suspect with an exactitude which bespeaks the eye-witness. He states that 'Ain ul Mulk was seized with a trembling and that this being observed, the king desired him to sit and

turned away his face to give him time to recover. The critical interview ended by gifts and favours to the traitor, showered in the hope of winning him back to duty. 'Ain ul Mulk at once renewed his treasonable correspondence and his conduct became a common topic of conversation in the Bíjápúr camp. A certain Hayát Khán, with the object of extorting hush-money, threatened 'Ain ul Mulk with exposure to the king, whereupon the latter who thought his conduct past concealment, openly declared his defection and wrote to Burhán Nizám Sháh to hasten his march and join Ismá'il. Confusion arose in all quarters—even the Hindús of Malabar seized the opportunity to invade Bankapúr. Dangerous insurrections followed but the king evinced considerable firmness and was at length rescued from his difficulties by the wiles of his eunuch, Hámid Khán who, by feigning the traitor, so completely entrapped 'Ain ul Mulk and his prince that they expiated their treachery with their lives. Burhán who had advanced to join them as far as Puranda, retreated at this news. He was shortly after taken dangerously ill but planned another invasion of Bíjápúr, to be made in conjunction with the Rái of Penkondah. His general, Murtazá Khán Anjú advanced as far as Puranda and thence while awaiting the movement of the Rái, sent out a detachment to plunder but this was utterly routed and its Commander killed. This reverse put an end to Murtazá's operations. The irritation produced by the news of the disaster increased Burhán's disorder. Anticipating his end, he named as his successor his second son Ibráhím,

thus excluding Ismá'il whom we know as the earlier usurper of his father's throne, the foe of Shí'ism and the follower of the latest Mahdí. Thus, in dying did Burhán sow the seeds of fraternal and religious strife. Ismá'il was not without supporters and one of these, a *muwallad** named Ikhláç Khán led a considerable body of troops towards Ahmadnagar. Though sick and feeble, Burhán had himself carried in a *palki* at the head of his troops to Humáyúnpúr where he defeated the rebels. He was so much weakened by the exertions of his journey that on his return to his capital, he died, on the day following his victory, 18th April, 1595.

18th Sha'bán 1003 H.

All this went on in face of the arming of the Mughuls. But the witches' dance of Ahmadnagar was to move in still more wondrous gyrations! Burhán's last direction had designated Miyán Manjú prime minister—a Dak'hiní and an able but highly ambitious man. Not being strong enough to destroy his rival Ikhláç Khán, Miyán Manjú accepted overtures from him for pardon. Practised as Ikhláç was in the routine of such situations, he had no sooner entered Ahmadnagar than he gathered round him a number of Abyssinians and *muwallads* to counterbalance whom Miyán Manjú was compelled to do likewise. In a few days it was evident that two parties existed, each of which was insisting on pre-eminence. The affairs of the state were thrown into confusion and civil war appeared inevitable. One senti-

* Son of a foreigner and (usually) an Indian mother.

ment the rivals had in common, enmity to Bíjápúr. In every meeting the advisability of marching against the neighbour state was discussed and both factions behaved with insolence to the envoy whom the 'Ádil Sháh had deputed to offer condolence and congratulation to the new king. Ibráhím was much incensed by this incivility and he put himself at the head of an avenging army. According to Briggs, he did this on 20th Sha'bán (20th April) and Burhán had died on 18th Sha'bán. The interval is certainly too short.*

Even however, if Firishtah has made an error of a few weeks, this chronology would furnish a measure for the political degeneracy of the Dak'hin rulers.

To Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh cannot be denied more of common sense than his fellow Sháhs possessed and a decision of action which shrank from no means, however perfidious. Firishtah lauds him as averse from unnecessary war and says that on this occasion, he was ready to abandon his expedition on apology

* Both Briggs and the Lakhnau edition of Firishtah give 20th Sha'bán but either it or the date of Burhán's death (18th Sha'bán) appears wrong; probably 2Cth Sha'bán. In the campaign which followed Ibráhím's march for avengement, a battle was fought in Zí-l hijjah (July-August) in which the king of Ahmadnagar was killed. Firishtah says he had reigned four months and there is nothing (given at least by Briggs) in his narrative to suggest that Ibráhím was four months in the field before fighting. The action of Ikhláç Khán (Briggs III, 185) also tells against a four months' interval. It appears, on the contrary, clear from the sequence of events in Ahmadnagar, immediately after the accession of Ibráhím Nizám Sháh, that some considerable time must have elapsed before the insult was offered to the Bíjápúr envoys. In addition to this, time would be needed for the news of the insult to reach Bíjápúr and for the 'Ádil Sháh to put himself in motion. The Lak'hnau edition of Firishtah does not state that the embassy was one consequent on Burhán's death, but even if it had been in Ahmadnagar before 18th Sha'bán, the time would remain too short. Trs.

offered. He indeed, goes so far as to say that knowing the king of Ahmadnagar to have lost all authority, Ibráhím advanced to Sháhdrug for the purpose of supporting him against his minister and against Ikhláç Khán. He would seem to have had the monarchical principle which he saw slighted in his cousin of Ahmadnagar, well at heart but even he can have had no clear perception of the real danger which threatened. For a moment, the right thought inspired Miyán Manjú; he proposed peace with Bíjápúr and with Ikhláç in order that the combined armies of the Dak'hin might oppose the Mughuls. Ikhláç was however not to he diverted from fighting Bíjápúr and, taking with him the Nizám Sháh, he marched to the frontier with thirty thousand men. Even now Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh forbad his general Hámid Khán to engage unless the Nizám Sháhís should cross the border.

Zí-l hijjah.

Against his wishes, this happened and the two armies came into collision in July-August. The left wing of the Bíjápúrís was routed and fled but the fight was maintained in the centre by Hámid and at the right wing by Suhail Khán. The latter charged the Nizám Sháhís where their king was personally engaged: Ibráhím Nizám Sháh was wounded by an arrow and died immediately; whereon his attendants took up his body and fled to Ahmadnagar. Panic seized the Nizám Sháhís who were engaged with Hámid; they left a victory half won and took to flight. The Bíjápúrís thus when least expecting it, found themselves masters of the field

and captors of elephants, baggage and artillery. While Ḥámid Khán was rejoicing in his success, his master had passed three days of suspense in Sháhdrug whither the fugitives of the right wing had brought tidings of general defeat. Spite of the signal advantage conferred by this victory, Ibráhím refused to invade Ahmadnagar at this crisis of its affairs and even recalled his army from the frontier. He himself turned towards his capital and from the banks of the Bhima, despatched a force against a *zamíndár* of of the Carnatic who had besieged Adoní. It was not until 8th September 1595 that he made his triumphant entry into his capital.

13th Muharram 1004 H.

In Ahmadnagar the rival *condottieri* forces grew larger and larger and their two captains sought for kings for whom they might rule. Ikhláç Khán and his Abyssinians at first espoused the cause of Bahádur, the infant son of the late king whom they wished to place under the ward of his great aunt, Chand Bíbí.* To this plan, Miyán Manjú refused assent and at length, it was agreed that a child named Ahmad whom he produced and asserted to be of Nizám Sháhí descent and son of a Sháh Ṭáhir who had died in honourable captivity in Daulatábád, should be made king. Ahmad was accordingly crowned on 6th August 1595 while the *khuṭbah* was read in the name of the twelve Imáms.

10th Zí-l hijjah 1003 H.

The chief men of Ahmadnagar now divided the state into appanages for themselves and removing

* Bíbí is equivalent to the title of Lady or Dame. Trs.

Bahádur from the charge of Chand Bíbí, sent him to the fort of Chawand. Ikhláç Khán had not attained supreme power: he and his party consequently found leisure to institute inquiries into the parentage of the new king concerning which Firishtah transmits an account which is undoubtedly based on the best authority. There had been doubt cast on the parentage of Muzaffar Gujrátí; Badakhshán had yielded a pretender and there had been a fictitious Burhán; it was easy in the East for "false Waldemars" to obtain credit; such persons were a feature of the age above which Akbar's figure towered.

914—961 H.

Burhán Nizám Sháh I. (1508—1553) had six sons. He was succeeded by Husain and the remaining five fled the kingdom, in apprehension of the jealousy customary to sovereigns. The eldest of these five was Muhammad Khudábanda and in the latter part of Murtazá Nizám Sháh Díwána or the Madman's reign there came to

1565—1588 A. D.
972—996 H.

Daulatábád, a person who called himself Sháh Ṭáhír and gave out that he was a son of Muhammad Khudábanda and that his father having died in Bengal, he had come in his distress to the Dak'hin. His story was laid before the king and his *vakíl*, Çalábat Khán. Its truth was not then substantiated for Bengal was far and time had passed. Sháh Ṭáhir however, as a claimant to royal birth, might be dangerous; he was therefore imprisoned. Some time after this, persons of respectability and who had known Muhammad Khudábanda were sent to Ágrah where Burhán Nizám Sháh was then living

under Akbar's protection, to enquire into the facts of the case. Burhán asserted that his uncle, Muhammad Khudábanda had died in his (Burhán's) house, and that his uncle's family, male and female, were still with him at Ágrah and that any other person asserting himself to be a son of Muhammad Khudábanda was an impostor. After this revelation of fraud, Sháh Ṭáhir might have been expected to pay forfeit with his life; on the contrary, it procured for him comfortable maintenance in easy confinement for life, Çalábat saying that as he had declared himself a Nizám Sháhí, it would be difficult to persuade the people of the fraud. This opinion sounds *naif* but it is undoubtedly authentic and it sheds light upon the doings of royalty to find that members of ruling houses were accustomed by flight to place themselves and their children beyond the reach of the imprisonment which was the custom of princes. This custom only however will not make the matter clear. The popular credulity to which Çalábat deferred, would be too simple if genuine heirs never emerged from the darkness of distance. Such emergence may well occasionally have been the fruit of that Shí'ah form of marriage which known in India as *mut'ah* and in Persia as *zíjah*, may be entered upon for periods varying from half an hour to ninety-nine years. The offspring is legitimate and as the form is not infrequently used by travellers, trouble arises occasionally through claimants to the paternal inheritance.*

* Baillie's Muhammadan Law, 42. Markham's History of Persia 279. Polak's Persien, 207. Leipzig 1865.

To Ikhláç Khán the discovery that Ahmad was not of Nizám Sháhí blood was in the highest degree welcome, for it gave him and his foreign following opportunity to demand the pretender's rejection and deposition. Miyán Manjú with his unlawful sovereign encamped on the plain which lies near the fort of Ahmadnagar and thence despatched his son Miyán Husain with 700 men to disperse the "mob" under Ikhláç. He himself, with king Ahmad, mounted a tower in the fort for the better oversight of the fray. The fight was obstinate and remained doubtful until a ball struck the canopy under which the king was seated, upon which people cried out that he was dead. This rumour reached the combatants; Miyán Husain immediately fled and took refuge in the fort. Ikhláç Khán at once proceeded to lay regular siege to Ahmadnagar and at the same time commanded the governor of Daulatábád to release two prisoners Abhang Habshí* an Abyssinian and Habshí Khán a *muwallad* who had been in confinement during the whole of the previous reign. With this order the governor complied but a second demand made by Ikhláç on the governor of Chawand, for the surrender of the little prince Bahádur was refused as being made without direct order from Miyán Manjú. Presumably Ikhláç Khán at this time, intended to proclaim Bahádur king, for a king was a necessity and where was he to be found? Ikhlác solved the difficulty in a surprisingly simple fashion

* Briggs writes Nahang but the weight of authority is against him. Blochmann 336. n. 2. Trs.

by procuring from the *bazár* a child of about the same age as Bahádur and proclaiming him the son and lawful heir of the late Ibráhím Nizám Sháh. He thus gathered to the new standard from 10,000 to 12,000 cavalry. In this extremity, Miyán Manjú wrote to Prince Murád who was then in Gujrát and prayed his help.

At this point has occurred a singular contradiction; wisdom had once counselled Miyán Manjú to peace with Ikhláç in order that they might make common cause against the Mughuls; now his egoism summoned the common foe. Repentance was quick to follow: Prince Murád had long been ready. It is hardly necessary to mention the cause which had for at least a year delayed his advance into the Dak'hin. Akbar hovered like an eagle on the northern horizon and watched the fighting cocks of the southern states, rending and wearying each other until his own time should come to prey on both.

Miyán Manjú's fateful letter had not reached Murád when the situation changed. The Abyssinian chiefs quarrelled about places and a mutiny breaking out in Ikhláç Khán's camp the *bazár* boy's adherents fell off. A large body of Dak'hinís deserted to Miyán Manjú to whom they gave such an account of affairs that he was encouraged to attack Ikhláç Khán. This he did and on 22nd September 1595 defeated him, near the *'Idgáh* of Ahmadnagar. The suppostitious Bahádur was amongst the prisoners.

25th Muharram 1004 H.

Miyán Manjú's days of triumph were however few

for in briefest space, Prince Murád, the Khán-khánán, Sháhrukh Mírzá and Rájah 'Áli stood with 30,000 men before the gates of Ahmadnagar. He had already repented his invitation and prepared for the defence of the fort. Having laid in a store of provisions, left Ançar Khán in command under the orders of Chand Bíbí who had been designated Regent, he set forth towards Ausa to seek assistance from the 'Ádil and Kutb Sháhs, taking with him the young king Ahmad. "It was" says Faizí Sarhindi "the settled rule of the three Sháhs to unite against a foreign "enemy whatever quarrels there might be amongst "themselves."

When Miyán Manjú quitted Ahmadnagar, affairs took an unexpected turn; Chand Bíbí was not disposed to surrender the cause of her house but rather bent on securing the throne for her great nephew, Bahádur. In pursuance of this end, she procured the assassination of Ançar Khán, proclaimed Bahádur king and with the assistance of Muhammad Khán took the head of affairs. She induced many commanders, Abyssinian and others to join her in the fort. Hers was a desperate attempt in favour of legitimacy for Prince Murád was at the gates.

The first shot was exchanged with the Mughuls on 16th December 1595, Murád encamped in the Hasht i Bihisht gardens and immediately a strong Mughul guard was despatched to protect the inhabitants of Burhánábád. Orders were given that all Dak'hinís should be well treated, as a result of which the latter trusted to the

23th Rabí I. 1004 H.

good disposition of the Mughuls. On the second day, Prince Murád in person superintended the marking of the ground for trenches and the posting of the commanders. On the 20th December Sháhbaz Khán made a pretence of hunting and sallied forth to Burhánábád where, regardless of Murád's prohibitions, he set his men the example of plunder. The old campaigner was master of the art of crushing *guerilla* risings by severe reprisals and was not unjustly notorious for tyranny over his troops and cruelty to all classes. What may be warrantable in *guerilla* war, he thought appropriate here also and before the prince could hinder it, he had in a few hours, sacked the towns of Burhánábád and Ahmadnagar. Several offenders who were taken with their loot in their hands, were by Murád's orders hanged in front of the lines but faith in Mughul promises was destroyed and the towns were deserted during the night.

27th Rabí I.

Besides the government which was located in the fort, there were at this time three parties of Nizám Sháhís;

1. That of Miyán Manjú who, with his *protégé* Ahmad, was encamped on the Bíjápúr frontier.

2. That of Abhang Khán Habshí who had gone into Bíjápúr territory and had induced Sháh 'Alí, a son of Burhán I. and a man of nearly 70 years of age, to emerge from his retirement and become king of Ahmadnagar.

3. The party headed by Ikhláç Khán who was near Daulatábád and had with him a second child,

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named Motí. Ikhláç set out for the capital but was on his way attacked and defeated by that Daulat Khán Lodí, whom Professor Blochmann calls the *âme damnée* of the Khán-khánán. Daulat followed up this victory by so utterly sacking Paṭan on the Godávárí that he is said to have left the people scarcely wherewithal to cover themselves. By such acts were destroyed at once the prosperity of the country and the good will of its people towards the Emperor.

Ahmadnagar was not yet fully invested and news of the defeat of Ikhláç penetrated to Chand Bíbí who seized the opportunity to strengthen herself and to diminish the number of parties by persuading Abhang to let fall Sháh 'Ạlí and acknowledge Bahádur who through all had remained a prisoner at Chawand. Abhang attempted to reinforce the Ahmadnagar garrison and being informed that the eastern face of the fort remained open marched towards it, in the night and with flankers and scouts thrown out on all sides. When within three miles of the fort, he learned that a force of Mughuls was on his direct route.

This force was a piquet of 3000 men, under the Khán-khánán and sent on that very day to complete the ring of investment in which Prince Murád and 'Abdurrahím Mírzá had noticed a breach when making a reconnaisance on the previous day. Abhang determined to force his way; came upon the piquet unobserved, cut off a number of the Mughuls and dashed on with a few followers to the fort. Sháh 'Alí attempted to follow but his men to the number of 700 were cut off by Daulat Lodí. Thus the relief

of Ahmadnagar was frustrated; great fear fell upon the Dak'hin; and Bíjápúr at length grasped the fact that Akbar's best generals were before Ahmadnagar and that Khândesh with its resources was at their service. Now was the safety of one, the safety of all.

On hearing of the defeat of Abhang, Ibráhím despatched Suhail Khán with 25,000 men to Sháhdrug where he ordered him to await further orders. Suhail was here joined both by Miyán Manjú and Ikhláç Khán who forgot their enmity before the common danger. Haidarábád also sent its contingent of 6000 horse. To this great army was added a fourth ally in Murád's drunken haste.

Long before, there had been disagreement between the prince and the Khán-khánán. From the beginning of the campaign 'Abdurrahím had been slighted and he had consequently held back and placed his men under the leadership of Sháhrukh Mírzá. In fidelity and zeal, he cannot have failed and we know with what talent he had operated in Gujrát in conjunction with Nizámuddin.* It can hardly be doubted that the greater blame rested with Murád. Now, under the pressure of the assembly of the Dak'hin forces at Sháhdrug, a council of war was held and it was agreed to attack Ahmadnagar before the allies should have time to relieve it.

The utmost activity prevailed in the Mughul camp; work went on day and night, above and below

* To the equal grief of the great Akbar and the little Badáoní, Nizámuddín Ahmad had since then, in 1003 H. died of fever. Trs.

ground. In a few days, five mines were carried under the bastions on one face of the fort and by the night of 20th February, these were all charged and built up with mortar and stones except where the train was to be laid.

1st Rajab 1004 H.

Within the fort however was Chand Bíbí, a commander who had already won the admiration of the imperial army. It was not treachery but chivalrous admiration for the resolution of the besieged which in the night before the storming, drew an imperialist, Khwájah Muhammad Khán Shírází to make his way to the walls and warn the garrison of their danger. At the instance of Chand Bíbí herself, the besieged profited by his warning and began to countermine. By daylight, they had destroyed two mines and they were searching for others when Murád gave the order for firing. The third and largest was sprung while the countermi-ners were in the act of removing the charge; many of these were killed and several yards of wall thrown down. Indescribable terror fell upon the garrison. Several of the principal chiefs prepared for flight. Chand Bíbí on the contrary, put on armour and with a veil over her face and a naked sword in her hand flew to defend the breach. Her intrepidity brought back the fugitives who now one and all formed round her a living wall. Countless hands set to the work. While the storming party waited for the explosion of the remaining mines, the besieged brought guns to bear upon the breach and threw rockets, powder and other combustibles into the ditch. Beyond the flam-

ing sea stood Chand Bíbí—a Brunhilda in a comb of fire.

Murád awaited in vain the springing of the other mines. He gave the signal to storm and the Mughuls pressed forwards. From out of the breach poured rockets, balls from guns and matchlocks, stones and arrows. The ditch was well nigh filled with dead. Storm after storm was repulsed, from four in the afternoon till nightfall.

In the hail of missles, Chand Bíbí stood throughout the day, in gleaming armour, guarding the breach. All were amazed at her heroism. When Englishmen fled before the Maid of Orleans they railed at her for a witch: the discomfited Mughuls praised with enthusiasm the Lady of Ahmadnagar and respectfully honoured her with the title of Chand Sulṭán. During night, she took no rest; she spurred her men to work and when day dawned, the breach had been filled to the height of some eight feet.

On the day following the storm the brave Regent sent messengers to Bír to urge speed upon the allied forces. Her despatches fell into the hands of Prince Murád who having read them, gallantly forwarded them with the addition of an invitation from himself also urging speed. "The sooner, the better," he wrote. This challenge was in itself spirited but he should have taken care to match his strength to his words. The falsity of the position he had assumed was soon felt. He had stormed without communicating with Khán-khánán and had in this been not only extremely uncivil but also foolish for he had

thus hindered the fall of Ahmadnagar. Certainly 'Abdurrahím's voice would have opposed a storm before the explosion of all the mines. As it was, Murád had dissipated his strength in repeated attacks and his message to the allies savoured more of bravado than of courage. Moreover, the Dak'hinís now avenged the losses they had sustained by the plundering of the Mughuls; they cut off supplies from remoter districts and those in the vicinity of the camp and which had been ravaged, could yield nothing. Murád began to repent his challenge to the allies and, believing that the Queen could know nothing of their approach, he seized the moment to offer terms. Firishtah does not name the author of the plan.

At first Queen Chand rejected all overtures but on reflection consented to the surrender of Barár while Ahmadnagar was to be left untouched to Bahádur in whose name she signed the treaty.

Murád now broke up his camp in the Hasht-i-Bihisht garden and retreated to Barár by Daulatábád and the Jaipár Katlí Ghat. Here he and the Khánkhánán settled themselves and left the Dak'hinís to their own incapacity for self-government and thus, with the acquisition of Barár, ended the second campaign in the Dak'hin.

The army of the allied Sháhs descended from the Mánikdán Hills and reached Ahmadnagar three days after the departure of the Mughuls. Miyán Manjú at once demanded the recognition of Ahmad but to this the foreign party would not assent. Abhang Habshí closed the fort gates and sent for Bahádur

from Chawand. It seemed as though civil war was to succeed that with the Mughuls. In this extremity Chand Sultán again saved the kingdom. She asked help against the two captains of the mercenaries from her nephew-in-law, Ibrahím 'Ádil Sháh. In response Muçtafá Khán brought 4000 men to her aid and also a hortatory letter to Miyán Manjú, desiring him not to press the claims of Ahmad and inviting him to Bíjápúr where the whole affair should be considered. In compliance with this, Miyán Manjú left Ahmadnagar. He was later on enrolled amongst the 'Ádil Sháhí nobility and a handsome estate was bestowed upon his *protégé*, Ahmad. Bahádur was released and crowned in his capital by the instrumentality of Chand Sultán. For a space, it seemed that her heroic courage had vanquished faction and as if Barár had purchased the peace of the kingdom but now was to be repeated the tragedy of the mayor of the palace and his master. The Regent needed a minister and believed she had found a fit person for office in her friend, Muhammad Khán. She therefore appointed him *péshwa*.*

"But in a short time," writes Firishtah with bitterness and resignation, "he (as is the way of the "world) after establishing his authority, promoted his "own adherents and relatives to the chief offices of "the kingdom. It was unlikely however that those "persons who had distinguished themselves in the

* The title *péshwa*, *i. e.*, leader, had not in the Dak'hin the spiritual connotation it possessed amongst the Ranshánís. It was used under the Bahmaní kings and has since become famous as that under which the *bráhman* ministers of the Rájah of Sátára so long governed the Mahratta empire. Elphinstone 457 n. Trs.

"war, should now tamely submit to degradation; he "thought it politic, therefore, to seize and confine "Abhang and Shamshír Habshís. On which the "rest of the chiefs, apprehensive of a similar fate, "fled the kingdom."

All authority now gathered into the hands of the *péshwa;* the Queen foresaw the dissolution of her authority and knew no other remedy than again to call on Bíjápúr. This time she prayed for a considerable force, sufficient for the reorganization of the kingdom. Her means were well chosen but were productive of evil consequences.

In the autumn of 1596 the Bíjápúrís arrived before Ahmadnagar, within whose walls were both Chand Sulṭán and her usurping minister. For four months Muhammad Khán had held out against them when he found that a strong party had formed against him. His own position being his chief care, he wrote to the Khán-khánán in Barár and offered to hold Ahmadnagar for the Emperor,

Beginning of 1005 H.

'Abdurrahím Mírzá knowing only too well that Akbar desired possession not of Barár only but of all the Dak'hin, waited for no second summons. Muhammad Khán could not change his flag without assistance and those to whom he confided his plan were not disposed to concur in it. They therefore let it become known to the garrison in whom it roused violent anger, both on account of their devotion to the Queen and of their natural dislike for the Mughuls. With one stroke, Chand Sulṭán was restored to her

former position; the governor delivered the traitor into her hands and her authority resumed its full sway. She released Abhang Khán and appointed him minister while she dismissed Suhail with gifts to his master.

When Suhail Khán, on his return march to Bíjápúr reached the village of Rájápúr on the Bhima, he was informed that the Mughuls had taken possession of lands not included in the ceded tracts of Barár. He consequently halted and sent the information to Bíjápúr, Ahmadnagar and Haidarábád. Orders were transmitted to him to operate against the invaders and his force was raised to the strength of at least 60,000 men by reinforcements from Ahmadnagar at Haidarábád. He pitched his camp at Sonpat, on the Godávárí.

The imperialists had broken the treaty of Ahmadnagar; would this displease the Emperor? He desired the conquest of the Dak'hin and would have effected it without footing on an antiquated title of right. Undoubtedly in accepting Muhammad Khán's invitation, Murád and 'Abdurrahím acted in harmony with his wishes and a treaty which had brought him only Barár and not the submission of the three Sháhs must have seemed to him little better than a defeat.

At this time Prince Murád was residing in a town which he had himself founded and named Sháhpúr. Here he had married a daughter of Bahádur Faruqí, the son of Rájah 'Alí. His chiefs were located in their new *jágírs*, with the exception of Sháhbaz Khán who having taken some offence had retired without

leave to Málwah. To the *jágírdárs* now went forth the summons to battle. As soon as the Khán-khánán in his cantonments at Jálnah received Muhammad Khán's invitation, he betook himself for instruction to Prince Murád. He was joined by Rájah 'Alí, Sháhrukh Mírzá and other noted leaders and, leaving

January 1599.
Jumáda II. 1005 H.

Murád with his *atáliq*, Çadiq Khán, in Sháhpúr, marched with 20,000 men to Súpá, a village lying on the Godávárí. Here he halted for the purpose of learning something of the Dak'hinís as soldiers and of the strength and position of Suhail Khán. During fifteen days no action beyond slight skirmishes ensued and at the end of this period, the Khán-khánán forded the river at a spot where the water was only knee-deep and drew up his army on the southern bank, near the town of Ashtí, some 24 miles from Pathrí.*

Faizí Sarhindí states that when the three Sháh's united their forces, the Nizám ul Mulk commanded in the centre; the 'Ádil Sháh on the right wing and the Qutb Sháh on the left. This rule he, as well as Abul Fazl, says was followed in the battle of Ashtí.

18th Jamáda II. 1005 H.

The battle was fought on 27th January 1597 and began at nine in the morning; but no close engagement took

* There is a diversity among the sources as to the Dak'hin line of battle. It is singular that the order given by Briggs (II, 274) is not to be found in the Lak'hnau ed. of Firishtah. His statement contradicts Abul Fazl and Faizí Sarhindí and breaks the Dak'hin rule of placing the Nizám Sháhís in the centre, the Bíjápúrís in the right and Qutb Sháhis in the left wing. A chronological slip in Briggs (II, 274) has given Dr. v. Buchwald considerable trouble. Jumáda I. has been written for Jamáda II. Trs.

place till three in the afternoon. At this time Rájah 'Alí and Rám Chand Chauhán* from the Mughul's left wing, engaged the 'Ádil Sháhís of the Dak'hin right. They made such an intrepid attack that they broke through the advance guard and reached the spot where Suhail commanded in person. Here they were met by such a discharge of artillery, small arms and rockets that Rájah 'Alí was killed; Rám Chand Chauhán wounded in twenty places and 3000 or 4000 of their troops killed. The Mughul left gave way and Suhail was master of the field in his quarter. The fugitive imperialists were pursued as far as Sháhpúr and Murád was on the point of decamping when he heard that the Khán-khánán and Sháhrukh Mírzá were still maintaining their positions which would seem to have been the centre and the right wing. These two generals defeated and put to flight the Nizám and Qutb Sháhís and followed them up for some distance.

Suhail was under the impression that Rájah 'Ali had been in the centre of the Mughuls and therefore believed that Sháhrukh and 'Abdurrahím were involved in his defeat. Considering the day their own, the victorious Dak'hinís began to plunder and many,—half of Suhail's force is named by Firishtah,—disobediently decamped to their homes with their booty. Meantime the victorious Khán-khánán returned from his pursuit and some hours of the night elapsed before he and Suhail became aware that they were within musket shot. The 'Ádil Sháhís lighted fires and tor-

* Blochmann 495. Trs.

ches but a few shots from the Mughuls caused the extinction of the betraying lights. Suhail changed his ground and sent skirmishers to the neighbouring villages to gather such troops as might have bivouacked there. The Khán-khánán took similar steps to gather such of his troops as were in the vicinity. In the darkness several encounters took place; the confusion was indescribable and cries of "Allah! Allah!" resounded on all sides. Every eye was fixed on the east, waiting for the dawn. Through the night human jackals prowled amongst the fallen and despoiled them of their now worthless possessions. Amongst the wounded lay the gallant comrade of Rájah 'Alí's charge, Rám Chand Chauhán. Of other jewels he had perhaps been rifled but pearls still gleamed in his ears. A knife flashes and pearls and ears are in the thief's wallet. He was found alive on the following day but died shortly afterwards.

At dawn the Mughuls went to water their horses and found themselves opposed by a greatly outnumbering force of Dak'hinís. Daulat Khán Lodí, the leader of 'Abdurrahim's *harawal* remarked to him that it was of no use fighting against such odds. "Do you forget Dihlí?" asked his chief. Daulat expressed his opinion that this fight, if won, would score 100 Dihlís and, "if we die, matters rest with God"! Qásim Bárha and other *sayyids*, on hearing that fighting was meant, said, "Let us fight like Hindústánís! "Nothing is left but death! But let us ask the "Khán-khánán what he means to do." Daulat went back and said to 'Abdurrahím: "Their numbers are

"immense and victory rests with Heaven: point out "a place where we can find you, if we should be "defeated." "Under the corpses" said the Mírzá. On this the Mughuls charged the enemy's flank and eventually routed him. This second day's battle raged with great fury on both sides and Suhail performed prodigies of valour. At length, worn out by wounds and fatigue, he fell from his horse. His army fought no more, he was its soul; it followed him when he was borne from the field:—the wearied and distressed state of the Mughuls forbad pursuit.' Abdurrahím, the open-handed, distributed 75 lakhs of *rupís* amongst his gallant followers and sent the news of triumph to his sovereign.

Akbar still tarried in the north, bound by the threat of 'Abdullah's power. After the news of the battle of Ashtí had reached him, he betook himself to Kashmír and there remained until driven down by the autumn's cold. He reached Lahór, on 16th November 1597 and there passed the winter months. On the New Year's Day of the 43rd year (11th March 1598) came news that he was free; his great rival had died at the end of the previous January.*

3rd Azar 1005 H.

13th Sha'bán 1005 H.

* Various days and times are assigned for 'Abdullah's death. Howorth, following Vambery, puts it on 6th February 1597. Faizí Sarhindí gives 2nd February 1598—or at least so far as may be inferred from Elliot VI, 132. Abul Fazl's narrative, apart from dates, shows that the news came to Lahór after Akbar's return thither from Kashmír; *i. e.* after November 1597. News of such vital interest as the death of 'Abdullah would certainly not, as Vamberry's date obliges, have been some 13 months in reaching Akbar's ears. If the Emperor had heard

5th Rajab 1006 H.

Abúl Fazl states that some of Akbar's commanders now pressed the conquest of Túrán upon him and that he magnanimously rejected the suggestion, saying that the country was distressed and divided and that it would be ungenerous and unkind to do more than send a prudent envoy to offer condolences to Abdul Múmin Khán. On 8th November 1598, Akbar quitted Lahór where the court had been located for 14 years. The towering alp which had so long cast its shadow on the policy of Hindústán, had fallen without touching Akbar's borders: who however will say that no other sentiment alloyed the relief with which he heard of his great rival's end? Must he not have been oppressed by tragic thoughts about his own sons? At some times, he must have perceived that for him as for 'Abdullah, indulgence would ripen a bitter fruit, but hope lightly follows desire! If Akbar had hours of dread, he was not reserved for a fate as mournful as the Túránian's.

26th Abán 1006 H.

As with David of Judah, as with Akbar, as with many an eastern father, paternal affection degenerated in the otherwise hard, cruel and narrow-hearted 'Abdullah into weakness. His son, Abdul Múmin, aimed at sovereign power. His father had raised him almost

sooner, his subsequent course of action makes it improbable that he would have delayed to leave Lahór until November 1598.

The course of events supports Abul Fazl's statement of the date of death as early in 1598. This allows some 37 days for the transmission of the news; no unreasonable period if one remembers that the intervening passes were blocked with snow. Abul Fazl gives 14th Bahman of 43rd year. (23rd Jan. 1598,) as the date of the death. Akbarnámah III, 737. Trs.

to his own level when he designated him, as being heir to his throne, the little Khán (*Khán kuchuk*). But not content with this, Abdul Múmin was ambitious of controlling all the Uzbak possessions south of the Oxus and wished to turn Kul Bábá Kukultash, the governor of Harát and a faithful retainer of 'Abdullah, out of that post. He had just defeated the Khán of Khwárazm and now marched against Kul Bábá whom 'Abdullah advised to lay aside all scruples and resist the prince as he would a foreign enemy. This counsel aroused Abdul Múmin's hatred against his father and while the latter was hunting on the Upper Oxus in 1595, he was warned that his son was marching against him with hostile intentions. 'Abdullah accordingly hurried back to Bukhárá whereon Abdul Múmin withdrew to his appanage of Balkh. After these movements several bloody encounters took place. When news of these dissensions reached the steppes of Kipchak, the Kasak Sulṭán who had hitherto feared the power of 'Abdullah and lived peaceably, began his aggressions again. 'Abdullah despising him, sent an insufficient force against him which was defeated in a sanguinary struggle and with great loss amongst the chiefs. The rest fled to Bukhárá in a very broken condition. This reverse greatly distressed the Khákán who had been weighed down by his son's ill-conduct; he summoned his people and advanced to Samarqand to meet the Kazaks but his health failed and to add to his other misfortunes, Sháh 'Abbás re-conquered Mashhad, Merv and Harát. Thus borne down by disaster, 'Abdullah, at the end of his career, saw the greater part of his life-work undone.

This turn in the affairs of Túrán was an advantage to Dihlí. No goodwill certainly was to be expected from Abdul Múmin whose marriage suit Akbar had so emphatically rejected, but there was also no dread of danger. If the future might be forecast, there was probability of diminished power in Túrán. Abdul Múmin's reign is little more than a record of the murders of kinsfolk and of the old friends of his father and in this sea of blood his sun went down. In six months, Nemesis overtook his crimes. His death hour, in the hollow way between Uratippa and Zamín, reads like a scene from the story of Tell. A conspiracy was formed against him: "words were useless, deeds must be had" said an old soldier. Lots were cast for the agent of vengeance. It was July and, to avoid the heat, Abdul Múmin travelled by night. He marched by torch-light through a narrow pass where only two could ride abreast. A shower of arrows met him and he fell. His head was immediately cut off. His followers passed on so rapidly that what had been done was not discovered till next morning when some stragglers coming up in the rear, tumbled over his body and recognized it by the clothing.

Sháh 'Abbás of Persia was ready and able to hold future rulers of Túrán in check. In the 1003 H. autumn of 1594, the weakness of its commander had lost him Kandahár but he put up with this loss till after Akbar's death. His first task was a reckoning with the Uzbaks and he was content if his hands were left free to effect thus. He testified his

satisfaction at this time by the despatch of an embassy to Akbar.

When speaking of the royal departure from Lahór, Abul Fazl repeats his already reiterated statement that Akbar still contemplated the conquest of Túrán, but the unlikelihood of such a project justifies us in regarding the statement as one of Abul Fazl's verbal embroideries. The royal residence was now again fixed at Ágrah. Retracing our steps to the time immediately following the battle of Ashtí (27th January, 1597), we shall take up again the thread of Dak'hin affairs.

18th Jamáda II, 1005 H.

Murád's violent changes of mood must have embittered the Khán-khánán. Now, with the headlong haste which had dashed his forces against Chand Bíbí's heroic courage, he desired to march at once on Ahmadnagar. Firishtah attributes the scheme to Çadiq Khán,* a man of distinguished military service whom Professor Blochmann describes as one of Akbar's best officers. What might seem possible to such a man seemed absolutely attainable to the prince. 'Abdurrahím's experience of Dak'hinís however had taught him that they were no despicable foes. As a matter of fact, moreover, their power was as yet unbroken. Another reason for delay was given by the death of Rájah 'Alí and the accession in Khándesh of his son, Bahádur. It is perhaps not safe to assert

* Blochman (357) gives the time of Çadiq's death as "beginning of 1005 H" (Abul Fazl ed. Lakhnau, III, 720) places it after the battle of Ashtí (Jamáda II. 1005 H = end of January 1597,) and says that the news of the death was brought to court on 9th Farwardín of 42nd year *i. e.*, 10th Sha'bán 1005 H. = 19th March, 1597.) Trs.

that the Khán-khánán foresaw what would be Bahádur's attitude towards the empire but he must have known that he would not replace his father. Firishtah describes the prince as abandoning himself on his succession to the pleasures of the seraglio and diverting himself with minstrels and dancers.

The Khán-khánán opposed to Murád's plans that there were still many strong places to be taken in Barár and that it would be better to defer, until the following year, any invasion of Ahmadnagar. Looking only at the loss of the able partizan who could dispose of the resources of Khándesh, this was a fitting reply. A war of pacification had followed conquest in Bengal, Gujrát, and Kashmír; this would be needed in the Dak'hin; why should Barár be an exception? In Khándesh, later on and when Bahádur was besieged in Ásír, Abul Fazl, as governor of the province, had used the same means of pacification which had been effectual in Afghánístán under Zain Khán Kokah and other leaders. The country had been occupied in all dominant points. No other plan was possible in Barár. The wisdom of the Mírzá's plan becomes indisputable on consideration of the condition of the Mughul army which had been weakened by the storming of Ahmadnagar, the defection of Sháhbaz Khán and by the more recent losses at Ashtí. It was further the interest of the commanders to establish themselves in their Barár *jágírs* which—land and dwellers—were their recompense for the mobilization of their retainers.

Murád persisted in his wish to advance and anger-

ed by the opposition of his experienced general, complained of him to the Emperor and induced others to do likewise. Akbar conceived that it would be unwise to leave the antagonists longer together and therefore recalled the Khán-khánán.

'Abdurrahím finds no favour with Professor Blochmann who in the life of Abul Fazl prefixed to his A'ín i Akbarí, calls him the "most untrustworthy imperial officer." It should be observed that this opinion is not borne out by the Professor's own record of the Mírzá's services to his sovereign and is condemned by the judgment of Firishtah who writes, at this juncture, that the Khán-khánán was recalled though the whole misunderstanding with Murád arose out of the prince's jealous and froward disposition and that, in spite of this, the Emperor's anger fell upon the Khán-khánán and that this great man remained for some time in disgrace. Muhammad 'Alí also, a Gujrátí and naturally therefore a man without bias in favour of the general who contributed so essentially to subject his country to the dominion of Dihlí, has for 'Abdurrahím the highest praise as a man, a commander and a patron of all that was worthy in literature. Assuredly Akbar's mind must have been clouded when he disgraced the man whose latest achievement had brought upon his arms the honour of the victory of Ashtí.

Abán 1006 H.

When he left Lahór, in November 1598, the Emperor had been disposed to march to the south direct but changed his route so as to pass through Ágrah. He had summoned his

sons to his presence and they had not obeyed. Evil-designed persons represented this behaviour maliciously. It was not only the refractory conduct and the intemperance of Salím which gave cause for regret but also the drunkenness of Murád and Dányál. Dányál obeyed his father's summons but visited him only at the New Year (March 1599), in an interval of orderly living. Akbar would seem to have quickly fathomed Murád's procedure for after a second futile summons to his presence, he despatched Abul Fazl to bring the prince to court. The tenour of the instructions given to Abul Fazl was that if the *amírs* of Barár were willing to undertake the management of affairs in the Dak'hin, Abul Fazl was to return to court with the prince but if not, Murád was to be sent alone and Abul Fazl was to cooperate with Sháhrukh Mírzá and the other commanders. At the same time a banner and kettle drums were conferred on the Mírzá, together with Málwah where he would be able to equip troops and remain in readiness to march on the Dak'hin when called upon.

Farwardin 1007 H.

It was not decreed that Abul Fazl should discharge his commission to Murád. He arrived, on 2nd May 1599, near Diharí, on the banks of the southern Púrná, to which place the prince had moved to avoid going to his father's presence, only to find that Murád had died on that day. For some time the prince had suffered from *delirium tremens* and had lately been drinking heavily to drive away the melancholy

22nd Ardibihisht 1007 H.

engendered by the death of his son, Rustám. Abul Fazl found the camp in the utmost confusion. Some *amírs* were for immediate return to Hindústán but the royal envoy induced many to join him in advance to the south. His first care was to garrison Barár in which he captured several strong places and he then agreed with Chand Sulṭán that when she had punished Abhang Khán who was at war with her, she should accept Janír in fief and retire from Ahmadnagar.

At this time, the Dak'hinís gained some advantage over the Mughuls by defeating the commandant of Bír. They invested that fort in such strength that Abul Fazl and his co-adjutor—that Yúsuf Mashhadí whom we have seen in the Panjáb and Kashmír—did not venture to attack him. On the other hand, the imperialists had in the early part of 1599 (Isfandarmaz of 43rd year) captured Daulatábád and its fort, Lohgaṛh.

It is worthy of note, as bearing on coming events, that Bahádur Faruqí sent no message of condolence to Dányál on the death of Murád who was his son-in-law.

At the end of 1598, the Emperor was on his southward march. He did not quit A'grah without compensating the Khánkhánán, by many marks of favour, for the injustice he had inflicted. The line of his march lay by Dholpur, Gwáliár and Sironj and on 18th January 1599, the royal camp was pitched between Kaliyádá which Faizí Sahindí desig-

1007 H.

1st Rajab 1007 H.

nates one of the most delightful places in the world and the ancient city of Ujjain. Here the Emperor awaited a visit from Bahádur Fárúqí of whom it was expected that he would follow in his father's footsteps and that he would join the royal army in the hope of avenging that father's death on the Dak'hinís. He, however, did nothing but excuse his absence with foolish evasion.

Between the Emperor's halting place and Ahmadnagar interposed Khándesh like a dividing barrier. If Bahádúr made no submission; matters would be serious and a double campaign was to be anticipated, concentrating in the north round Ásírgaṛh and in the south round Ahmadnagar. It was known that Haidarábád and Bíjápúr would throw their strength against the Mughuls. These facts, working with Akbar's usual plan of attempting first conciliation, led him to commission Mírán Çadr Jahán Muftí to visit Khándesh and ascertain exactly the state of Bahádur's affairs. The Çadr Jahán learned that Bahádur had been kept for 30 years a prisoner in Ásír, it being the custom of the Fárúqí family to confine sons, brothers and other relations in order to avert attempts on the throne. When Bahádur was freed by his father's death, he knew nothing of the ways of the world and plunged recklessly into dissipation. He exhibited no trace of his father's tact or nobility and shewed no gratitude to the Emperor. Neither did he send tribute, nor did his "craven spirit" entertain one thought of avenging Rajah 'Alí. When all this was communicated to the Em-

peror, he sent the Çadr Jahán to offer Bahádur good counsel. The envoy proceeded to Ásírgaṛh and was there received with respect and honour. Bahádur acknowledged his obligations to the Emperor but fate was against him. He paid little heed to counsel and persisted in his own perverse conduct. Sometimes he said he would go and visit the Emperor, at others that his suspicions had been aroused by the talk of people and that he could not go. He however offered to send his son with gifts. His evasion must have proceeded either from a vacillating disposition or from a settled design of treachery. The Emperor was moved to great anger when Mírán reported that his exhortations were futile.

14th Sha'bán 1007 H.

On 2nd March 1599, the imperial camp was at Dhár and here orders were given to Shaikh Faríd i Bukhárí, the *bakhshí ul mulk* to lead a force against Ásír. Shaikh Faríd was the patron of two historians, Shaikh Núrul Hakk and Shaikh Iláhdád, (Faizí Sarhindí.) The latter accompanied Shaikh Faríd on most of his expeditions and at his command wrote his Akbarnámah, a book which contains much information about operations in the Dak'hin and before Ásír.

The royal instructions were of the usual tenour; first reassurance was to be tried; then, if this failed, Ásír was to be reduced with all possible speed. Shaikh Faríd appears to have been a favourite leader for many chiefs displayed eagerness to serve under him. After crossing the Narbadah, he learned that the Khándeshí forces were under Sa'ádat Khán, a

son-in-law of the late Rájah and the greatest and most trusted of his servants. Sa'ádat had moved towards Sulṭánpúr and Nandurbar to effect a diversion and a party of Mughuls was consequently detached to watch him while the rest of the force marched through the country. Even before entering Khándesh, Shaikh Faríd, at Gharkol, received a humble and submissive letter from Bahádur Faruqí, offering excuses for his conduct and praying for the *bakshí's* intercession. This letter was sent to the Emperor and a halt made to await a reply. Akbar, in return, offered forgiveness and favour if Bahádur would hasten to pay allegiance.

The royal army marched on and passing the summit of Sabalgarh reached the confines of Khándesh. Mír Çadr Jahán had deprecated an immediate advance on Ásír because he feared to drive Bahádur to desperation but had advised that the army should go first to Burhánpúr. By Akbar's orders, this advice was rejected and the forces proceeded to within some six miles of Ásír.

Here the *bakhshí* learned that the Çadr Jahán and Peshrau Khán (who had also been sent to Bahádur) having failed both in persuasion and menace, had left Ásír and retired to Burhánpúr whence they communicated their ill-success to the Emperor. On 9th March, the latter proceeded to Mandú. Not even yet had Bahádur said his last word. When Shaikh Faríd came near Ásír, he received from Bahádur another and similar letter in reply to which the writer was reminded that the kings

21st Sha'bán.

of the Dak'hin had united their armies and made war on the Emperor's allies; and how Rájah 'Alí had fallen fighting bravely and loyally upon the imperial side; that the Emperor was now resolved on revenging his death and with God's help would annex the territories of all the three kings: that his duty therefore, was to join the army with his followers without delay and to take vengeance for his father's blood—not to be a thorn in the way and to say to the Emperor, "first strike me and then the murderers of my father." Bahádur was accessible only to another kind of logic.

Prince Dányál was now ordered to proceed with the Khán-khánán to Ahmadnagar and he sent directions to Abul Fazl to cease operations, as he himself desired to take the city. At the Emperor's request therefore, Abul Fazl left his corps in charge of Sháhrukh Mírzá and other chiefs and hastened to meet Akbar. He took with him the elephants and other effects of the dead Murád and about 10th March 1600, arrived in his sovereign's presence at K'hargáon. Akbar greeted him with a couplet—

14th Ramazán 1008 H.

> "Serene is the night and pleasant is the moon-light;
> "I wish to talk to thee on many a subject."

Abul Fazl was directed to join Shaikh Faríd before Ásír. He was shortly afterwards promoted for his excellent management to a command of Four Thousand and was also appointed governor of Khándesh.

A dual campaign now opens, consisting for the most

4th Farwardin 1008 H.

part of the sieges of Ásírgaṛh and Ahmadnagar. It was on 12th March 1600, that Shaikh Faríd i Bukhárí moved to within some four miles of the fort of Ásír, the nearest distance at which fit camping ground was afforded. Báz Bahádur Uzbak and Qarábeg—the latter one of the Atgah Khail and a cousin of 'Azíz Kokah—were sent forward to select positions for trenches and for a closer encampment.

26th Farwardin.

Dányál, on his part, arrived before Ahmadnagar on 30th March. He accomplished his task some months before the fall of Ásír but both sieges were such as almost to cast even that renowed capture of Chítor into the shade. As A'sír was a stumbling block in the path to the Dak'-hin, it will be well to follow first the course of *its* reduction.

A'sírgaṛh, the fort of A'sír, commands one of the main roads of Híndústán from an outlying spur of the Satpura range. It stands north-east of Burhánpúr and on a hill 850 feet above the neighbouring country. The area of the upper fort is some 60 acres. This is skirted by a wall, below which falls a precipice of from 80 to 120 feet deep, so well scarped as to leave only two places of ascent. That on the north led up a ravine and was guarded by an outer rampart while the most practicable adit, on the south-west face, was defended by a strong outwork, called the Kamargáh. At the south-eastern extremity of the hill was a sally-port of extraordinary construction, hewn through the living rock and easily blocked from above. Fáizí

Sarhindí says that the ground adjacent to the hill was level and had neither trees nor jungle to serve as cover. There were however numerous ravines in the inferior ramifications of the hill which afforded cover at close quarters. There were no springs within the walls but reservoirs, not commanded by cannon range, preserved an ample supply of water.

Firishtah says that A'sírgarh was founded as a relief work in 1370 A. D. by A'sá Ahír, a charitable Hindú whose ancestors had retained the estates of which the hill formed part, for nearly 700 years. He was the eponymous founder of the fort. A wall had long existed for protection of cattle and there was an inhabited place as well as an ancient temple, at the time when he fortified the hill for the purpose of employing labourers during a crushing famine in Khándesh and Gondwánah.

The second prince of the house of Fárúqí seized A'sírgarh from Ásá Ahír and his descendants held it for 200 years. Every prince, as he came to power, did his best to keep in repair and to strengthen and provision the fort; while the revenues of several districts were assigned in later days to maintain the supply of artillery. When one reads of the enormous stores which fell into the hands of the Mughuls with the fort, a light is thrown on Bahádur's conduct to the imperial envoys and Mír Çadr Jahán's conjecture that Bahádur meditated treachery is confirmed. He invited 15,000 persons—labourers, artisans and shop keepers—into the fort and likewise brought in 100,000 animals. There was a large resident population besides the gar-

rison. Such over-crowding would have results which even the huge store of medicines, aromatic roots and healing wines would be unable to combat. Of opium alone, there were found some seven tons. No doubt this valuable and, when well packed, durable commodity formed part of the royal treasure of the Fárúqís but there were also such enormous quantities of oil and grain that after provisioning thousands of persons for eleven months, they seemed not to have been touched.

Many tons ("thousands of *máns*") of ammunition remained unused at the completion of the siege, so too with the oil; in every bastion there were found cauldrons in which 5 or 6 cwt. (20 to 30 *máns*) of oil could be boiled to be poured on the assailants. The equipment was such as contemporary Europe could not compete with. The mighty fort was more to be compared with a modern stronghold than with those of the time intermediate between the Middle Ages and modern days. In it were not only narrow passages and casements, but open spaces, gardens and fountains, in the midst of which were the houses of the chiefs. In the thick walls were chambers for the officers of the artillery from which, during all seasons, they could with comfort keep up a fire of cannon and musketry. There was something of a modern stamp in the extent of the works. Half way up the hill, to the west and slightly to the north, were two renowned outworks called the Málai and Antar Málai which had to be taken before A'sír could itself be reached; and between the north-west and north, there was another

bastion called Chúnah Málai. Of the Málai, Faizí Sarhindí says that, compared with the fort, it seemed at the bottom of the earth, but compared with the surface of the ground, it looked half-way up into the sky. Below Málai was an inhabited place called Takhatí. "In short," says Faizí Sarhindí, "the fortress is one of the "wonders of the world, and it is impossible to convey "an idea of it to any one who has not seen it." In likening A'sír to a modern fortress, exception must be made as to the range of guns, this having been so greatly extended in recent decades.

Báz Bahádur and Qarábeg having examined this marvellous fort from the outside, reported to Shaikh Faríd that they had never, in any country, seen a fort like it and that, however long an army might press the siege, nothing but the extraordinary good fortune of the Emperor could effect its capture: they further said that old soldiers and men who had travelled to distant lands, men who had seen the fortresses of Írán and Túrán, of Rúm, Europe and of the whole habitable world, had never seen the equal of A'sírgaṛh. Shaikh Faríd seeing the great importance of the affairs, sent to the Emperor all available information and busied himself with plans for the capture of the formidable stronghold. The actual strength of the place not being known, envious persons represented its reduction to Akbar as an easy matter and caused some irritation of the royal temper. He announced that he should himself come to examine it with his own eyes. About this time, Abul Fazl who was on his way from the south to the Emperor's presence, halted

within a few miles of A'sír and sent word to Shaikh Faríd of his arrival.

Faizí Sarhindí has a full and detailed account of the ins and outs of the meetings planned and missed between the two imperialist leaders and which is manifestly the tale of an eye-witness. Shaikh Faríd set off to visit Abul Fazl but remembered when on the way that Bahádur Fárúqí had promised to see him on the following day. He therefore returned to his camp and thither came Bahádur from his eyrie on the expected day. Just as Bahádur was on his way down, the Shaikh had ridden out to meet a letter for which he looked from Akbar. He had a large escort with him but when he saw, Bahádur's cavalcade, he thought the matter important and possibly a source of danger, so sent off to let Abul Fazl know that on that day too, he could not acomplish his visit. He then received Bahádur in his tent and used every argument to induce him to submit to the Emperor. Bahádur returned to his old excuse of being afraid and mounted again to his stronghold. Some persons said that Shaikh Faríd ought to have made Bahádur prisoner at this meeting but Sarhindí records his dictum, that resort to subterfuge and want of faith and truth never prove successful. Besides this, Bahádur had with him a force sufficient to resist the weak army of the Shaikh! On the next day the two Shaikhs met, discussed the meeting with Bahádur and sent a report to Akbar. Abul Fazl then proceeded on his way to the presence and the actual siege of Ásír began. Shaikh Faríd had expected to have to occupy Burhán-

púr but on the arrival there of the force he had detached for this purpose, it found that the town had submitted to the Emperor and all that seemed necessary was to station 1,000 horse half way between it and Ásírgaṛh to cut off all communications between the two places. On the next day, Shaikh Abul Barakát, a brother of Abul Fazl joined the besieging force with the elephants and artillery which were under his command. Abul Fazl, as has been said, after having been received, on 10th March, by the Emperor, had been despatched to join Shaikh Faríd. In his capacity of governor, he established 22 posts throughout the country and placed a garrison in each. Not his brother only but also his son, 'Abdurrahím Afzal, held military command under him. Of such excesses as Murád's officers perpetrated in the Dak'hin, nothing is heard in Khándesh: on the contrary the promises of protection were so well kept that the farmers proceeded with the usual cultivation and all rebellions were quelled.

14th Ramzán.

Before Ásír trenches were pushed forward but to do this was no light matter. Omitting the guns which had become useless, there were counted after the surrender of the fort, 1300 pieces of artillery besides mortars and an arm—(*manjánik*)—which projected stones of from 15 to 30 tons (!) ("1000 *or* 2000 *máns*") the fire never ceased during the whole siege of eleven months; day and night alike, whether a foe was visible or not, the rain of balls fell. Even in the dark nights of the rainy season, "no man dared to raise his head and a demon would not move about." Shaikh Faríd

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was not however deterred from inspecting the works even by daylight. On one occasion, a large gun was fired at him but part of the battlements on which it stood, fell and with this the gun, an accident which was received as a good omen by the imperialists. The Emperor was intent on the undertaking and sent letters constantly with instructions and directions while every day some of his officers came to report upon the progress of the siege. By one of these, Miyán Sa'íd, means were taken to afford protection to the men and enable them to stay continually in the trenches.

Bahádur wrote yet once more and was once more answered, but he had faith in the strength of his walls and thought nothing mortal could overcome them. The Emperor at length, early in April, himself came into the camp when Shaikh Faríd was ordered to revert to his own duties as *bakhshí* and, wait on the Emperor so as to be in readiness for an emergency. Other *amírs* were designated for the service in the trenches, amongst whom were the Khán i A'zam, Jání Beg Tattah and the kinsmen of Shaikh Faríd. To mine was impracticable or to make *sábáts;* the investment was therefore made as complete as possible. At the end of a month, the report from the trenches was that the besieged kept up fire night and day, with and without object, necessary and unnecessary, and that the Mughuls troops endured it with great bravery.

Shawwál 1008 H.

In the early days of May, Bahádur sent out, together with his mother

Zí-l Ka'da.

and his son, 64 elephants and again begged forgiveness for his offences. The Emperor answered that he must himself come out of Ásír and trust to the royal mercy. In judging Bahádur's conduct, it would be interesting to know whether the cause which led to the subsequent surrender of Ásír was already in operation and whether the imperialists were in possession of the facts. On this point the sources say nothing. On 18th June the garrison made a sortie and many of them lost their lives in a desperate struggle. When they were driven back, a little hill called Korhiah fell, with hard fighting, into the hands of the besiegers; this eminence commanded the fort and, by occupying this and capturing Málaigaṛh, the besiegers saw that they might overawe the garrison.

16th Zí-l Ka'da.

To the capture of Málaigaṛh, treachery lent its aid. One of the garrison deserted and disclosed to Qarábeg that there was a secret path by which the wall of Málaigaṛh could be surmounted. At first no heed was given to the suggestion which the Emperor considered dangerous and impracticable. At length on 20th November 1600, recourse was had to Qarábeg's plan and Abul Fazl selected a detachment to follow him. Having ordered the officer commanding in the trench to wait for the sounding of a trumpet and bugles and then to hasten with ladders, Abul Fazl with his chosen men went out in the dark and rainy night. He sent Qarábeg and a few men in advance, along the road which had been pointed out to him. These broke open a gate

18th Azar 1009 H.

of the Málai and sounded a bugle. The besieged rose to oppose them and, as there was a short delay in the arrival of the force from the trenches, the Mughul advance party was attacked but, at break of day, the Málai garrison retired in confusion to A'sír. The consequences of the fall of the Málai were beyond those which might have been anticipated for a worse foe than the Mughuls raged on the hill-top.

In protracting negociations with the Emperor for the purpose of completing the provisioning of the fort, Bahádur Fárúqí had dug his own pitfall. In the over-crowded enclosure, accumulations of filth poisoned the air. A pestilence was developed which killed 25,000 animals and engendered two diseases in men; paralysis of the extremities and weakness of sight. The deepest depression fell upon the garrison and above all on Bahádur. It was generally believed that Akbar had the power of reducing a fortress by magic art and that magicians accompanied him for this purpose. Bahádur shared this belief and took no measure to counteract the evils by which he was surrounded. He neither ordered the removal of the dead animals, nor the establishment of hospitals, nor the expulsion of helpless persons. His soldiers grew careless of duty and were worn out and it thus came about that a traitor was able to give Maláigaṛh into the hands of Abul Fazl and Qarabeg and that the fastness fell to a minority of fighting men.

Bahádur attempted negociations but his terms were rejected. A conspiracy was formed in his following to deliver to the Emperor the person of the ruler

whose folly was such that, having ample money, he left military pay in arrears and that he attempted no redress for the remediable hardships which pressed upon his soldiers. The situation became unendurable; the Khándeshí escort which accompanied Bahádur's latest envoy to the imperialist camp spoke more from out of the depths of evil presage than with the gallows humour of desperate men when they declared they would not return to be prisoners (*ásír*) in Ásír. Permission to remain was given; those who could, were to give bail for not running away, the others were to be kept in confinement. Some found bail and some returned to the fort.

7th Bahmán 1009 H.

By 14th January 1601, the Khándeshí powers of resistance were exhausted and Bahádur admitted himself beaten.* Other resistance to the Emperor there now was none for the conquest of the south had been accomplished by the fall of Ahmadnagar.

To return now to the Dak'hin. The unhappy Chand Sulṭan had been little more fortunate in choosing Abhang Khán for *Péshwa* than she had been with his predecessors. He too assumed all power and desired to get Bahádur Sháh into his hands. The Queen perceived that he was scheming to supersede her autho-

* Akbar's reduction of Ásír occupied some 11 months. In February 1820, it surrendered to Sir John Malcolm's force, after 11 days of bombardment by 22 heavy guns and 26 mortars. The two great sieges have interesting features of dissimilarity; noticeably in the fact that the Mughuls kept at a distance from the fort and were exposed to its guns during the whole siege—while the British moved as speedily as possible to closest quarters and so out of range. See Blacker l. c. Trs.

rity and, to prevent this, retired with her charge into the fort and closed its gates, at the same time sending a message to the Abyssinian to the effect that he would be able to conduct the government from the town and that she had selected the fort for her residence. For some days, Abhang appeared to accommodate himself to this arrangement, but only for the purpose of gathering together his forces, at the head of which he appeared, without warning, before the fort. In vain the king of Bíjápúr attempted mediation; royalists and rebels displayed bloody opposition. Abhang's party waxed for he used Prince Murád's folly to make boast of his devotion to Ahmadnagar. The dreaded Khán-khánán had been recalled: the rains had swollen the Godávárí and the fort of Bír which Abhang invested, could receive no reinforcement. Its imperial commander, Sher Khwájah had marched some 24 miles to meet the Abyssinian but, as has been said, had been defeated, wounded and driven back to Bír. He had barely time to despatch a messenger to the Emperor before the fort was beleaguered. Akbar was on the point of recalling Abul Fazl and sending again the Khán-khánán to take command when the news of Murád's death reached him whereon he despatched Dányál, accompanied by 'Abdurrahím Mírzá, as commander-in-chief. Abhang, on intelligence of their approach, vacated his position before Bír and hastened to occupy the Jaípúr Kotlí Ghát but the Mughul army made a *détour* and avoided the pass. Abhang then fired his heavy baggage and hurried to Ahmadnagar. He

proposed a compromise to the Queen which she rejected, upon which he fled to Junír. Chand Sultán now saw again an imperial army beneath her walls and a serious investment begun. She felt that she could no longer make good her cause. She summoned to her counsel a eunuch, named Hámid and sought his advice. He recommended resistance while she declared, that after the conduct of the several officers in whom she had trusted, she could place no reliance on them and that for her part she considered it advisable to vacate the fort on condition of obtaining security for life and property and to retire with the young king to Junír. On hearing this, Hámid* ran out into the streets and declared that Chand Sultán was in treaty with the Mughuls for the surrender of Ahmadnagar. Hereupon some short-sighted and ungrateful Dak'hinís followed him into the Queen's apartments and put her to death.

Vengeance was swift. The exceptionally dry season favoured the earthworks of the besiegers. It is true that the city walls, built of blue stone and 27 yards in height, defied the enemy's cannon and that a broad ditch yawned beneath them. Under Prince Dányál's direction, great efforts were made to form a *khák-rez* to fill up the ditch and enable his men to mount the walls.† This was from 30 to 40 yards broad and 7 yards deep and fell into the ditch, forming a road. Mines were dug from the trenches of the Prince and of Yúsuf Mírzá Mashhadí but the besieged broke

* Abul Fazl says Habshí Khán and Firishtah, Yotha or Chotha. Trs.

† *Khák-rez* means literally "earth-spreading." Trs.

into them and destroyed them. They even formed a counter-mine and exploded it but it was smothered by the *khák-rez* and did no harm. On (or about) 17th August, the Mughuls exploded a great mine which blew 30 yards of the wall into the air. The garrison suffered from the falling stones but the besiegers were unhurt.

6th Sharíur.

No Chand Sulṭán now stood in the breach when the torrent of Mughuls poured in. Fifteen hundred of the garrison were put to the sword; the rest were spared at the solicitations of friends. The siege had lasted 4 months and 4 days. Bahádur Nizám Sháh and all the members of the ruling house were taken prisoner and the imperialists acquired valuable crown jewels, embossed arms, a splendid library, fine silks and 25 elephants.

Two days after the fall of Ahmadnagar, the Emperor could proclaim Dányál's success in the camp before Ásír. Simultaneously a stroke of good fortune befell him in the north. Jalálah Raushání who for so many years had, after each repulse, renewed his following from amongst the Afghán tribes, had fallen at Ghazní.

After these triumphs to which, on 14th January 1601, was added the surrender of Ásír, the Sháhs of Bíjápúr and Haidarábád bowed their pride and paid allegiance to Dihlí. Before this, the Emperor caused Abul Fazl to bring to him the keys of the great fort and himself inspected its wonders. Bahádúr Fárúqí was sent to Gwáliár as a prisoner and was permitted the company

7th Bahman 1009 H.

of his family. The treasures which his ancestors had garnered for 200 years in Ásír, fell to the Mughuls.

Out of affection for Dányál, Khándesh was now renamed Dándesh by Akbar and the prince also at this time received command of the Dak'hin, Barár, Dándesh, Malwah and Gujrát. He moreover married a daughter of the 'Adil Sháh, apparently much against her inclinations.

The royal standards now turned homewards. Akbar entered Ágrah with triumphant celebration of the assumption of his new title of ruler of the Dak'hin. Brilliant was his entry but his mind was steeped in gloom.

CHAPTER III.

Salím's revolt and Abul Fazl's death.

There was for Akbar in Ágrah other work than the celebration of his southern victories. He had, before it should wax to rebellion, to suppress a mutiny the leader of which was no other than Prince Salím. His satisfaction in the addition of the Dak'hin to the roll of his imperial cognizance can have been but faint when his eldest son was usurping the title of Emperor of Hindústán. His brilliant entry into Ágrah was but a well-calculated demonstration to over-awe the Dak'hin and strike terror into the resurgent Afghâns of Bengal.

Grant that the consciousness of power, coinciding with gross adulation, lured Akbar into dreams of God-likedness and, in these, to human weakness, yet, this notwithstanding, the kernel of his character remained sound and excellent. With the conqueror's vocation which, in cold blood, leads thousands to slaughter, his heart had made terms and it was tender and compassionate. It was doubly so in family life. His relation to his mother was ardent and touching; his paternal affection boundless—a weakness which cruelly avenged itself. What in advancing years must have been his anguish when he saw his youngest

son a drunkard; his second dead in youth from the same vice; and his eldest, his ardently desired heir, not only a drunkard but a rebel?

He had done more than any sovereign of his day to instruct his sons but he had given them neither serious education, nor parental discipline and restriction. Through weary years of conflict, he had preserved his own better self to an epoch of might and splendour and he will have desired to spare his children the embittering of their youth. His mystic speculations led him to believe that he became one with God and he may have believed that his children would of necessity inherit the Divine Spirit which was in him and be thereby ennobled and purified. Possibly under this delusion, he gave his sons premature power. The idealism of an affectionate father's heart was increased by the evil example of almost all his neighbour kings. Akbár had seen ancient royal houses brought to moral and physical ruin by the murder and imprisonment of their members. He had seen men, bred in exile or in gilded prisons, mount thrones to destroy the work of even great fathers. He would lay no compulsion on his sons; they should mature in honour and dignity for their future callings. Such may have been Akbar's noble dream but in his day, culture had not fittingly ripened the affections for its realization. Placed early in command of ample means which attracted parasites, Akbar's sons were exposed to all the seductions of their time. Close acquaintance is made neither with Murád nor Dányál through the translations. When

Jahángír* describes Murád as being "of a greenish "or fresh complexion, in person rather spare and in-"clined to be tall; in disposition mild, dignified; deli-"berate in council and brave in action; in conduct "so discreet that my father consigned to him the "superintendence of his building department and "working establishments," one suspects that his eulogy is but a fashion of speech designed to set Dányál, for whom he had no love, in so much more glaring a light as a drunkard. For Murád died of *delirium tremens*, although of this fact Jahángír makes no mention. Firishtah's account of Murád's conduct in the Dak'hin is in itself enough to prove the falsity of Jahángír's portrait,—a falsity for which no brotherly affection pleads excuse. That such fraternal sentiment had no place in Salím's heart is shewn by his narrative of Dányál's death, concerning which event we shall hear more in another connection. After dwelling at length on Dányál's drunkenness and after touching on his fancy for elephants and his occasional neglect in paying for such as he purchased, Jahángír leaves the topic with the words; "I shall lastly observe "that Sulṭán Dányál was extremely fond of Hindú-"stání music and no bad reciter of Hindí poetry."† The affections which Akbar wished to cultivate in his sons had vanished. All had accomplishments; Salím had knowledge, perhaps more extensive than his father's. He was a ready writer, sufficiently so to pillory himself in memoirs for the study of posterity.

* Memoirs of Jaháugír trs. by D. Price. London, 1879 4° p. 47.

† Price, 48.

On the brute which was in him, civilization laid but light fetters; it broke out continually, often indeed to be reflected as something higher from the lying mirror of his vanity which imaged it as refined love of justice. The following passage serves to exemplify this. It is taken from the Táríkh i Salím Sháhí* and dates from the suppression of Khusrau's rebellion.

25th Zil-hijjah 1014 H.

"On Thursday, 23rd April 1606, I "entered the castle of Láhor, and "took my seat in the royal pavilion built by my "father, from which he used to view the combats of "elephants; and I directed a number of sharp stakes "to be set up in the bed of the river upon which "thrones of misfortune and despair. I caused the 300 "traitors† who had conspired with Khusrau, to be "impaled alive. Than this, there cannot exist a more "excruciating punishment, for the culprits die in "lingering torture. Let the reflecting man take warn-"ing by this and be deterred by the thousand punish-"ments which cannot exceed those which I have "described, from similar acts of perfidy and treason "towards their benefactors."

When Akbar lay on his death-bed and his physician Hakím 'Alí had made a mistake in his treatment, Jahángír thought, "If God's destiny and the blunders "of the medical class did not sometimes concur, we "should never die. This much," he continues, "on "a feeling of discretion and kindness, I confessed to "Hakím 'Alí; but on the bottom of my heart all "confidence in his skill was extinguished."‡

* Elliot VI, 268. Trs. † Price gives 700. Trs. ‡ Price 71.

It is needless to repeat Salím's exploits in flaying men. While Akbar widened his affections by beneficent action and aspired to a divine likeness, Salím contracted his to the narrowest selfishness. Akbar may have been a fatalist and have hearkened to the words of men who professed themselves the mouthpieces of the all-controlling stars, but Salím was childish in his superstitions.

Akbar's nature was too religious to find satisfaction in rigid subjection to Muhammadan law; Salím, to whom divine things were indifferent, took pleasure in posing to Hindústán as the restorer of Islám. The thought of freeing the Hindús from their Moslim yoke conspired in Akbar with his own religious needs for the downfall of the *ulámas;* Salím, on the other hand, replaced them in power because their elevation furthered—both now and in his own reign—his vain desire for supremacy. "Having on one occasion," writes Jahángír "asked my father why he had forbidden any one to prevent or interfere with the building of these haunts of idolatry—(*i. e.*, Hindú temples) his reply was in the following terms: "My dear child! I find myself a puissant monarch, the shadow of God upon earth. I have seen that He bestows the blessings of His gracious providence upon all His creatures without distinction. Ill should I discharge the duties of my exalted station, were I to withhold my compassion and indulgence from any of those entrusted to my charge. With all of the human race, with all God's creatures, I am at peace; why then should I permit myself,

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"under any consideration, to be the cause of moles-"tation or aggression to any one? Besides are not "five parts in six of mankind either Hindús or aliens "to the faith; and were I to be governed by motives "of the kind suggested in your enquiry, what alter-"native can I have but to put them all to death? I "have thought it therefore my wisest plan to let these "men alone. Neither is it to be forgotten, that the "class of whom we are speaking, in common with "the other inhabitants of Ágrah, are usefully engaged, "either in the pursuits of science or the arts, or of "improvements for the benefit of mankind and have "in numerous instances arrived at the highest distinc-"tions in the State, there being indeed, to be found "in this city men of every description and of every "religion on the face of the earth."*

Salím tells this *a propos* of a raid which he proposed on a temple in Banáras. It creates a sad impression to find in his memoirs that this man was always called child (*bábá*) by his father.

Akbar had tried to prepare Salím for his future career by employing him in various provincial governments. Up to the time of the royal march to the Dak'hin, in the end of 1598, Salím was filling one such in Alláhábád. At this time, the prince was declared successor to the throne and appointed Viceroy of Ajmír.† He had in these posts opportunity of creating for himself a vocation which might have reconciled him to the lot of an heir-

1006 H.

* Price 15.

† Elphinstone 451. Trs.

apparent but his vanity could not brook the second place. Akbar made life as pleasant to him as he could, by rarely employing him near his person where he must have fallen somewhat into the background. It may have been for these reasons that he did not go to the Dak'hin. Salím had opportunity of distinction in Ajmír and might there have found a wholesome antidote for the debauchery to which, as his father must have known, he was addicted. He was ordered to march against the Ráná of Udaipúr who had rebelled and recovered a part of his ancestral dominions. In place of the brave Ráná Partáb now stood his eldest son, Amr, no despicable foe and one who was upheld by the voices of warriors grown grey in his father's struggle for independence. Partáb had died in 1597. The death hours of this bravest and toughest of Akbar's opponents have been embellished by legendary art.* "The last moments of Partáb were "an appropriate commentary on his life which he ter-"minated like the Carthaginian, swearing his successor "to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's "independence. But the Rájpút prince had not the "same joyful assurance that inspired the Numidian "Hamilcar: for his end was clouded with the pre-"sentiment that his son Amr would abandon his fame "for inglorious repose. * * * On the banks of "the Pashola, Partáb and his chiefs had construct-"ed a few huts (on the site of the future palace of "Udaipúr) to protect them during the inclemency

1600 A. D.
1008 H.

1005 H.

* Tod's Annals I, 349.

"of the rains in the day of their distress. Prince "Amr forgetting the lowliness of the dwelling, a "projecting bambu of the roof caught the folds of "his turban and dragged it off as he retired. A hasty "emotion which disclosed a varied feeling, was observed "with pain by Partáb who thence adopted the opinion "that his son would never withstand the hardships "necessary to be endured in such a cause. 'These "sheds' said the dying prince, 'will give way to "sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of "ease; and luxury with its concomitants will ensue, "to which the independence of Mewar which we "have bled to maintain, will be sacrificed: and you, "my chiefs, will follow the pernicious example.' "They pledged themselves and became guarantees "for the prince, by the throne of Bappa Rawul, "that they would not permit mansions to be raised "till Mewar had recovered her independence. The "soul of Partáb was satisfied and with joy, he ex- "pired."

This story may embody only a local tradition of a date which can hardly be earlier than the building of a palace by Amr and his submission to Jahángír, but in its record of the indignation of his chiefs at his momentary hesitation to defy Dihlí, it provides an index to the mood of the proud Rájpúts who took oath before the dying Partáb. Then none dreamed of submission but all felt free in their mountains.

Akbar could reckon beforehand on the form the Rájpút war would take and this the more accurately as he associated with Salím, Partáb's old adversary

Mán Singh. Looking at the relative numbers of the forces and to the Rájah's military experience, there was no fear for Salím of a serious defeat such as he might have encountered in the Dak'hin. The prince was not destitute of personal courage and, if he had respect for anything, it was for courage. Cowardice he despised. The Emperor may have thought this war in the Aravalís would yield his son higher pastime than riotous living in Allahábád and greater excitement than drinking bouts. Such slight discomfitures as the Rájpúts might inflict would rouse Salím's anger and call him into the saddle; the fresh mountain air, contest with an ancient foe of the empire and the prospect of victory would awaken and strengthen his better self. If, as may be inferred from the facts, Akbar held some such opinions, he had, in more than one particular, miscalculated. Salím had no better self. The pomp of a viceregal household was far more to his taste than the privations and fatigues of the rugged hills. He had a dismal recollection of having once been really hungry in one of his father's marches to Kashmír and of having been delighted to eat hastily cooked mutton. He loved first himself and his comfort and he loved the pleasures of the table, shared with jovial boon companions who flattered his vanity by plans for conspiracy to gain speedy access to the "throne of his desires." He marched for good or for ill from Allahábád but he took up quarters in the charming city of Ajmír and there, as Abul Fazl says, gave himself up for some time to luxury and dissipation. Later

on he moved to Udaipúr, the Ráná meanwhile emerging from the hills at various points to plunder Malpúr and other places but being driven back by Madhú Singh, a brother of Rájah Mán.

The prince when left in Udaipúr, formed a most reprehensible plan. Akbar may have cherished the hope that Salím's excitable temperament would display itself in zealous pursuit of the enemy but Salím's egotism awakened a more logical thought. Not Amr but Akbar had disturbed him from his good cheer; certainly, he will have admitted, it was annoying to leave a rebel unpunished—that was Mán Singh's affair. What had Salím to gain by troubling himself? At best some martial glory which would but raise the reputation of the reigning sovereign. Would this compensate for a mountain war? The beautiful and wealthy Panjáb lay near, his father's own and with all its treasures to be grasped without a blow. Would his father fight a son to regain it? If he took possession of it, Hindústán would certainly be partitioned but only sooner or later to be reunited under himself. In the interim, he should be his own master and should not, at the beck of any man, be despatched to the discomforts of campaigning. Misled by evil counsellors who urged upon him some such arguments, Salím formed the design of seizing upon the Panjáb.* The cabal was not hidden from Mán Singh who, being loyal at once to his sovereign and to his princely brother-in-law, saw the matter more clearly. He knew that Akbar's anger could be such as no man

* Chalmers II, 521 ff.

had yet withstood. He already despised Salím, a contempt repaid later on by unchanging aversion. He now turned Salím's attention to Bengal where events were again untoward and this in order to make these events subserve a plan which would have done credit to Todar Mall.

The Rájah's *jágírs* lay in East Bengal and Orísá, thus interweaving his interests with those of the Empire. So soon as he had quitted Bengal to join Salím, certain Afgháns rebelled under one 'Usmán. Imperial and private interests alike demanding his presence, Mán Singh now hastened back to his province. A worse position of affairs can hardly be conceived. It was one which, if Salím should occupy the Panjáb and make war on his father, might result in the disruption of the Empire. Which side should the Rájah take who hoped that eventually his son-in-law Khusrau might rule? Mán Singh took his own counsel and acted with tact. He knew that two sentiments dominated Salím—desire to return to Allahábád and ambition after independent sovereignty. If Salím were persuaded out of his scheme against the Panjáb and returned to Allahábád, the Rájah inferred that he would either surrender himself to harmless repose amid the comforts of his court, or take possession of territory for himself. In the latter case, he might be brought into conflict with the insurgent Afgháns. 'Usmán was Akbar's foe and if Salím defeated him, it could but be Akbar's gain. If on the other hand Salím should be beaten, he would for a time be rendered harmless and even if victorious

and if he assumed the royal title, it was to be expected, that, in satisfaction at the success, the Emperor might confirm the title and thus by gracious means destroy Salím's powers for ill. This simple argument is based on the knowledge of the Rájah's earlier life, on Abul Fazl's remark that he turned the prince's attention to Bengal and on the fact that the Emperor was grateful to the Rájah for his conduct in this matter.

Salím readily allowed himself to be persuaded to move towards Bengal but when the Rájah left him to hasten to his disturbed government, being free from control and seeing the royal forces employed in other quarters, he yielded to the temptation to seize Hindústán for himself.* On 12th July he crossed his Rubicon, the Jamnah, at a point some eight miles from Ágrah, and marched to the city. The governor, Qulij Khán contrived to elude his demands for its surrender whereupon Salím proceeded to Allahábád.† Although Professor Blochmann says of Qulij Khán that he owed his high rank less to his talent as a statesman than to his family connexion with the kings of Túrán, it is at least known that he fought well and loyally in Gujrát with Nizámuddín Ahmad and with 'Abdurrahím Mírzá who, it may be remembered, also fares ill at the Professor's hands. Qulij Khán was now 57 years old, a staunch Sunní, respected for his learning and a poet withal. The thirteen years of life‡ which were yet allotted to him

1st Mirdád 1009 H.

* Elphinstone 468. Trs.

† Khafí Khán I, 218 and Elphinstone 450. Trs.

‡ Blochmann 34, 354 and 354 n. Trs.

would have been passed in the pangs of hell if he now had scandalously betrayed the trust of his sovereign. His fidelity was no light matter, for Ágrah was the capital of India and contained vast treasures. Rájah Mán Singh apparently acquainted the Emperor with his plan and convinced him of its justness for 'Ináyatullah Muhibb 'Alí* records that Akbar ordered the prince to unite his forces with those of Mán Singh for the suppression of the rebellion in the East. From this it would seem that the Emperor fell in with the Rájah's scheme and not only thought fit to ignore Salím's mutinous acts but veiled them in the semblance of legality.† When Salím crossed the Jamnah, an attempt to influence him for good was made by his grandmother, Maryám Makání. He had neglected to visit her although he had passed so near her residence; she had been hurt at the slight but; "condescendingly followed in the hope of over-"taking him but as the headstrong youth mounted "his barge and pushed forward to avoid her, the "venerable lady turned back with sorrow to the "city."‡ She too must have been able to give her son details of Salím's doings.

1009—1010 H.

Little is recorded (in the translations) of Salím's proceedings during 1601.§ After his ineffectual attempt to corrupt

* Chalmers II, 542. 'Ináyatullah Muhibb 'Alí continued Abul Fazl's Akbarnámah and *Áin i Akbárí* after the murder of the latter. See Blochmann, XXX. Trs.

† It would, for this point as well as for others, be useful to know whether 'Ináyatullah wrote under Akbar or under Jahángír. Trs.

‡ Abul Fazl, Chalmers II, 522. Trs.

§ Owing apparently to an error of dates, Dr. v. Buchwald has inserted here,

Quliq Khán in Ágrah, he proceeded to Allahábád where, says Abul Fazl,* "he seized upon many *jágírs* "and taking prossession of the treasures of Bihár, "amounting to more than 30 lakhs of *rupís* assumed "the title of Majesty. The Emperor no sooner heard "of these events than he addressed a letter question-"ing him on the irregular motive of his conduct, but "he returned a wily answer in which he deceitfully "asserted his innocence and declared his intention of "repairing to the court in person." In the beginning of the 47th year 'Inyátullah mentions that the prince sent a letter and some horses to Akbar and in the same year but later, says that Salím asked for an audience and proceeded as far at Etáwah for the purpose of visiting his father, "There doubts "were suggested to him by some ill-inclined persons "and he feared to advance any further. His Majesty "was no sooner made aware of this circumstance, "than he wrote to the prince that, if he were earnest "in his wish to pay his respects, he ought to display "his confidence by doing so alone and dismiss his "attendants to their *jágírs;* if, on the contrary, "suspicion withheld him, he had better retire to "Allahábád there to reassure his heart and repair to "Court when he was enabled to do so with full trust "and assurance." The prince, alarmed at this kind "yet disdainful communication, instantly despatched

March 1602 A. D.
Ramzán 1010 H.

an incident of the Bengal campaign which is more in order later on. Its mention has therefore been deferred. Trs.

* Chalmers II, 522. Trs.

"Mír Çadr i Jahán, who was the chief justiciary of "the imperial dominions and his Majesty's agent with "the prince, to his august father, charged with the "most submissive apology and referring to the Mír's "own observation in testimony of his sense of duty "and allegiance. He then set out towards Allahábád "and meanwhile an imperial *firmán* was issued, in-"vesting him with the government of Bengal and "Orísá and directing him to despatch his officers to "take possession of those two provinces. Rájah Mán "Singh was at the same time ordered to transfer the "provinces and to return to Court."*

Whether it was the testimony of the Çadr or the quiet reflection that after all, Salím was less unmanageable than Dányál, or paternal affection, or all combined which moved the Emperor to lenity, who will say? The mournful end of 'Abdullah Khán's glory must again and again have risen like a dark cloud on his horizon. In any case policy counselled peace between the father and son. Peace being Akbar's settled determination, he could do nothing wiser than carry out Mán Singh's plan. As he had sanctioned Sálím's move from his Ajmír viceroyalty to Allahábád, under the fiction that it was directed against the eastern rebels, so and maintaining the same fiction, he continued to act; Salím's rebellion was ignored and Mán Singh's services scored to him.

When Bengal had been made over to Salím's agents (*gomastahs*)† Mán Singh went to court where he found an honour awaiting him which had

* Elliot VI, 105. † Chalmers II, 543. Trs.

as yet been bestowed on none of Akbar's heroes; he was made *mançabdár* of Seven Thousand.* 'Aziz Kokah was at about the same time promoted to the same high grade and moreover received a *lakh* of *rupís* to defray the expenses of his daughter's marriage with Salím's son, Khusrau. By means of Khusrau, the Emperor forged a new link to bind these two great vassals to his house but the interest shewn by Khusrau's kinsmen in his fortunes served only to bring him trouble. Several royal acts of clemency are mentioned at this time, as one of which may be instanced the remission of revenue in the famine-stricken province of Kábul. Abul Fazl was enriched by a gift of 50,000 *rupís* and elevated to a *mançab* of Five Thousand, distinctions which must have increased the existing antipathy of Salím towards his father's trusty minister.

It is needless to point out that Salím and Abul Fazl were strongly antipathetic in character. Salím's craving for supremacy must have opposed precisely what was noblest in Abul Fazl—that generous tolerance which makes seem excusable the flattery he used to procure tolerant action in the Emperor. If Akbar were divine, Salím must await inheritance of his divinity and wait Salím would not. Why should he wait? His instincts told him he could not walk in his father's steps and that, if he sought to do so, comparisons would be made in his disfavour. Salím thought much about himself. His memoirs reveal

* Blochmann 341 and Akbarnámah, ('Ináytullah Muhibb 'Alí Khán,) Bib. Ind. III, 839. Trs.

his self-deception; he took his ferocity for strength and nothing impressed him so much as exhibitions of physical power which he considered in harmony with his own character. Ferocity mistaken for strength and touching the domain of religion leads, in a character prone to superstition, to wild fanaticism and blind subjection to some form of rigid dogma; in a character disinclined to piety, however, to pretended subjection for the purpose of posing as the upholder of the dogma. Salím's nature and circumstances both impelled him towards the old Muhammadan orthodoxy in whose ranks adherents were most easily to gain amongst the discredited *'ulamás* and this in particular in Bengal.

Abul Fazl's creed as set forth by Mr. Blochmann when translating an inscription written by the former for a temple in Kashmír, was in diametrical opposition to Salím's.

> "O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee!
> "Polytheism and Islám feel after Thee,
> "Each religion says, "Thou art One, without equal."
> "If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.
> "Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque,
> "But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.
> "Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.
> "Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
> "But the dust of the rose-petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller."*

* Blochmann XXXII and n. "The last line is Çúfistic. The longing "the heart after God is compared to the perfume which rises from the rose

Abul Fazl was not sufficiently discreet in concealing his aversion from Salím and moreover felt himself secure in his sovereign's favour. He himself in the 43rd year,* says that being at the time much occupied, he seldom paid his respects to the prince royal. Naturally this "circumstance was misrepre-"sented by the envious and the anger of the young "prince being much excited, the mind of his Majesty "also became slightly affected with displeasure." Abul Fazl, however, "suspended his hand from all "occupation, withdrew his foot within the skirt of "his robe and closed his door on the face of friend "and stranger. Although I was often summoned "before his Majesty, I constantly wrote back for "answer that as the world had left me, his Majesty "should at any rate, in compassion, leave me to my-"self. But I was shortly recalled from despair by "a benignant message and, on presenting myself, was "received with the utmost favour and condescen-"sion."

The minister plumed himself on his indispensability and threatened absence. He calculated rightly as to the Emperor but made an enemy of Salím by a triumph which the prince's vanity could not brook. He certainly seems to have outstepped the limits of prudence.

'Ináyatullah† says "As Shaikh Abul Fazl adorned "the garment of the high consideration in which he

"petals. The perfume-seller, *i. e.*, the Unitarian, is truly religious and is "equally removed from heresy and orthodoxy." Blochmann. Trs.

* Chalmers II, 514 ff.

† Chalmers II, 549 or Elliot VI, 106.

"was held with the embroidery of hearty fidelity, he "had reported to his Majesty some of the youthful "indiscretions of the Prince Salím Mírzá, the heir-"apparent, forgetful that the high road to honour and "distinction hath its dangers and that the branch "which wildly ventures to run crookedly must ever "bear bitter fruit.'"

Here it may be read that Abul Fazl had been imprudent, for nothing good was to be expected from Salím. The image of a road on which Salím was a highwayman, clearly expresses the fact that, in 'Ináyatullah's opinion, Abul Fazl did desire to attain honour and distinction and the words "hearty fidelity" vouch for it that his wayfaring was prompted by no blameable ambition. We should better understand matters if we knew what 'Ináyatullah meant by Salím's youthful indiscretions. We are now before the catastrophe which caused Abul Fazl's untimely death. Accounts of his murder and of its motives are given by Jahángír with brutal frankness, by 'Ináyatullah and by Asad Beg who records the details of the Shaikh's last journey and death.*

Jahángír thus writes of Abul Fazl and of his murderer.† "Rájah Bir Singh Deo, one of the Bundelah Rájpúts, stood high in my favour. He was as "brave, kind-hearted and pure as any man of his age. "I elevated him to the dignity of 3000. The cause "of his elevation was the murder of Abul Fazl, a

* 'Ináyatullah, Chalmers II, 549 and Elliot VI, 106; Asad Beg, Elliot VI, 154; Jahángír, Elliot VI, 288. Trs.

† Blochmann XXVI. Trs.

"descendant of one of the Shaikhs of Hindústán, "distinguished for his talents and wisdom. About "the close of my father's reign, Abul Fazl, wearing "upon his plausible exterior the jewel of probity "which he sold to my father at high price, was summoned from his appointment in the Dak'hin to the "royal court. He was not my friend. He inwardly "nourished evil intentions towards me and did not "scruple to speak ill of me." * * * "Certain vagabonds "had caused a misunderstanding between me and my "father. The bearing of the Shaikh fully convinced "me that if he were allowed to arrive at Court, he "would do everything in his power to augment the "indignation of my father against me and ultimately "prevent my ever appearing before him. Under this "apprehension, I negociated with Bir Singh Deo. "His country lay on the high road of the Shaikh "from the Dak'hin and he at that time was engaged "in a plundering expedition. I sent him a message, "inviting him to annihilate Shaikh Abul Fazl on his "journey with promises of favour and considerable "rewards. Bir Singh Deo agreed to this and God "rendered his aid to the success of the enterprise. "When the Shaikh passed through his territory, the "rájah closed upon him and his followers. They were "in a short time put to flight and he himself murdered. His head was sent to me at Allahábád."

When Jahángír says Abul Fazl would have prevented his appearing before his father again, he clearly means that Abul Fazl would have used all his influence to exclude him from the throne. There was

consequently less question of what Salím had done, was doing or desired to do than of matters designed by Akbar and Abul Fazl.

But who were the "certain vagabonds" whom Jahángír does not name?

In recent years there had come to the front Salím's brother-in-law, Rájah Mán Singh, the uncle of Khusrau and Akbar's foster-brother 'Aziz Kokah, father-in-law of Khusrau. It is proved beyond controversy that, in Akbar's last days, these two conspired against Salím and in favour of Khusrau. The question is whether they were already, at this time, conspiring and whether Salím had ground to believe that Abul Fazl would intrigue for their ends.

Returning to 'Ináyatullah's account of the murder we find his adverse comments on the reports of Salím's indiscretions thus continued. "To his Majesty's amiable disposition, therefore, his (Abul Fazl's) "reports were not entirely acceptable and, as this "soon became current among all classes, Akbar summoned him to court, and directed him to make over "his retinue and command during his absence to his "son 'Abdurrahmán." Here is something obscure. Did Akbar not wish to give credence to Abul Fazl's reports? Why did he recall him? Blochmann, who certainly had at his command the most copious authorities says, "Though on Akbar's return from "Burhánpúr, a reconciliation had been effected, the "prince, in the 47th year, showed again signs of "rebellion and as many of Akbar's best officers ap-"peared to favour Salím, the Emperor recalled Abul

"Fazl, the only trustworthy servant he had."* Plausible as this seems at first sight, it contradicts 'Ináyatullah's account† according to whom it would appear that Abul Fazl's reports and not the position of affairs occasioned the recall. Although it cannot be doubted that on other grounds Mr. Blochmann rightly speaks of Salím's mutinous attitude, it seems improbable that Abul Fazl from the Dak'hin should open the Emperor's eyes to things he could see for himself much better from Ágrah. The conjecture that something more important was behind is involuntary.

In the Tárikh i Salím Sháhí‡ Jahángír attributes his "employment of the man who killed Abul Fazl and brought his head" to him, solely to Muhammadan zeal—a version of conduct which the commonest sense would counsel him to publish. With equal falsity, he asserts that after the death of Abul Fazl, the Emperor shewed himself once more an orthodox believer. In this connection he says, "I am "compelled to add that under the influence of his "displeasure on this occasion (*i. e.*, Abul Fazl's mur-"der) my father gave to my son Khusrau over me, "every advantage of rank and favour, explicitly de-"claring that after him, Khusrau should be king."

The matter seems to have run as follows: Akbar did not wish to proceed at once to extremities against Salím and raised Khusrau's two kinsmen to honour as a threat to Salím of exclusion from the throne.

* Blochmann XXIV. Trs.

† Jahángír gives no reason for the recall of Abul Fazl. Trs.

‡ Price, 32.

These two magnates worked in Khusrau's interest, an interest which screened their own for, in the event of Khusrau's succession, they might share the *rôle* of the mighty Bairám. Abûl Fazl must have considered the conjunction of a young sovereign, a free-thinking Hindú and a Muhammadan whose zeal had been cooled by costly residence in Makkah,* incomparably more favourable for the realization of his ideal of the fusion of creeds and peoples than Salím's dismal star which had already shed ill-boding rays upon himself. He therefore supported Mán Singh and 'Aziz Kokah by reporting unfavourably of Salím. It "soon became current among all classes" that the Emperor did not find these communications entirely acceptable. He therefore thought well to recall their transmitter. Salím likewise took action. He knew the danger which threatened him from Abul Fazl's undeniably powerful influence and instigated Bir Singh Deo to murder.† Although the above hypotheses are not put forward as having any verified historical basis, they can hardly be far wrong. Possibly a closer examination of the Persian sources might yield them support.

Let us now follow the most intellectually-distinguished of Akbar's friends on his last journey.

When the fall of Ahmadnagar and of Ásír had dragged down the independence of the Dak'hin and when the Emperor had returned to Ágrah, the curtain rose on the after-piece of the military drama—the war of pacification. Against such an incorpora-

* Blochmann 327.

† Price 33; Elliot VI, 289.

tion of Ahmadnagar in the Empire as must result in important changes in property through grants to conquering vassals—that is for their possessions, privileges and independent position—now fought the Dak'hin magnates. There were again two parties in the land, the Dak'hinís under Miyán Rájú and the Abyssinians under Malik 'Ambar. Both captains professed a semblance of allegiance to Murtazá Nizám Sháh II. Against them, the Khán-khánán waged prudent war, playing their mutual jealousy against each. This policy aroused suspicion against him but was nevertheless, at least in Akbar's lifetime, completely justifiable. Malik 'Ambar was defeated at K'harkí, by Írij, a son of the Khán-khánán, and severely wounded. Peace was concluded and the most friendly terms thereafter subsisted between 'Abdurrahím and Malik 'Ambar. Perhaps this friendship contributed, in years to come and when Akbar had passed away, to Malik 'Ambar's domination in an almost independent position of the greater part of the Ahmadnagar territory for the Nizám Sháh. However this may be, he was a man whose reputation for sense and justice became proverbial in the Dak'hin.

Abul Fazl's point of view was not 'Abdurrahím's. His theory was that all opposition to the great Emperor was unjustifiable. He meditated a war of annihilation against the Dak'hin magnates. This course would have ruined the prosperity of the province and seems in its severity at variance with Abul Fazl's religious tolerance, but it is easily explicable. His theory of a sovereignty rising to divinity had deve-

lōped in the court atmosphere and had been strengthened, by resistance and by out-matched intrigue, in a mind which, while assuredly endowed with an open eye, was pedantic to its inmost fibre. For example: the Áín contains numerous and even trivial computations but they would have been dealt with in different fashion by a practical economist such as Todar Mall. In Abul Fazl's loyalty as in Akbar's sovereign power, there was always a mystic and *doctrinaire* element. Add to this, that there were many commanders who surpassed him in military importance, and still more less rich than royal favour had made him but who had not only to defray war costs by booty but who desired remuneration for their trouble, and it will be easy to understand that he met with general opposition. He received his recall with pleasure and set forth with a comparatively small following. The Emperor had ordered him to leave his army in the Dak'hin and he moreover allowed himself to be persuaded by Gopál Dás Nakta, to leave such troops as he had brought from the south, in Sironj with Asad Beg and under the pretext urged that they were fatigued. He took a few faithful companions but even these, Gadáí, Jálál, Salím and Sher Kháns—all Afgháns—left their troops behind.

Evil enough was the reputation of the road past Mandú and Gwáliár to Ágrah The Rájpúts of Málwah and above all the Bundelahs had a notoriety similar to that of the Khaibarís. Jahángír records (as we have seen) his arrangement for Abul Fazl's murder with Bir Singh Deo, the younger brother of Rám

Chand, the head of the Bundelahs. Of this plot against his life the traveller could have known nothing, but he must have known that many dangerous adventurers haunted his route and that he had many an ill-wisher who possessed gold to purchase their services.

It is explicable that in his haste to rejoin his friend and sovereign, he took an insufficient escort; certainly the paucity of his followers excites suspicion. The authority for this point is Asad Beg, a man who belonged to Abul Fazl's following but who wrote for the Emperor and who is known for a discretion which would forbid him to write or say what might excite the Emperor's feelings. He must have guessed the instigator of the murder but he does not name Salím. Asad Beg's narrative is simple and credible but weight should hardly be given to its details. It names an erroneous date as that of the murder but this need not discredit the story. Not on 7th Rabí I. 1010 H. but 4th Rabí I. 1011 H. was Abul Fazl murdered.* There is no ground for regarding this deviation from fact as intentional.† The following account of Abul Fazl's last journey and murder which, as has been said, was written for the Emperor, is extracted from the Wikáyá i Asad Beg.‡

12th August, 1602.

"It was decreed by the will of Providence that "the most learned should travel thus" (*i. e.*, without

* The error in date may be Asad Beg's translator's. Trs.

† Elliot VI, 155; Blochmann XXV.

‡ Elliot VI, 154. Trs.

his army) "and his fortune was perfidious; therefore "it was that, following the advice of Gopál Dás "Nakta, he went unattended and unguarded to the "place of his death, as I will now explain. When "that most learned one reached the city of Sironj, "the wretched villain Gopál Dás had been for a long "time ruler of those parts and had raised about 300 "irregular cavalry, most of them low Rájpúts who "did not receive more than 20 *rupís* a month. Mean-"while that learned one, and we also, had heard in "the Dak'hin the account of Rájah Nar (Bir) Singh "Deo's depredations and never a day passed but des-"patches on this subject reached us from Abul Khán "and the rest of our faithful friends. Still, fate so "ordered it that that learned one never paid the least "heed to them. When we reached Sironj, Gopál Dás "persuaded him that the troops which he had brought "with him from the Dak'hin were many of them "sick and fatigued from the speed of their march, "and that it would be well to provide for them there, "leaving them with Asad Beg to fight against In-"drajít Bundelah and taking with him, as his guard, "the fresh troops which he had raised. The ill-fated "learned one agreed to this unwise proposition and "throwing away his life, preferred those fresh troops "who had never faced a single enemy, to his own "victorious soldiers, tried in a thousand fights. In "fact, many of these men did not even arrive in time "to be of any use. He had taken Gadáí Khán, the "Afghán and his son with him, but he left their "troops with me; had he but had 100 of them with

"him, that disastrous accident had never occurred. "True, Gadáí Khán was a tried courageous man but "he fought alone; he fell, charging the enemy: "his son escaped with a wound. Another Afghán, "Jalál Khán by name, charged and fell; and two "others, Salím Khán and Sher Khán, were taken "prisoners and put to death for refusing to betray "the most learned. Mançur Chábuk too, one of the "Nawáb Khán-khánán's servants, who had resigned "his former office and come to Sironj, under pretence "of turning *fáqír* and had been employed in the "kitchen, charged and fell; he was of the Turko-"mán race. Mírzá Muhammad Khán Beg was also "among the slain, as well as Jabbar Khássa-khail, an "Abyssinian, who was with them. When the Nawáb "was pierced and fell, he slew the Rájpút who had "wounded him and rushed upon the enemy. He "had still life in him when Bir Singh came up with "the main body. He first trod Jabbar under foot "and then cut off the head of the great 'Allámí. "Excepting those I have mentioned, all, whether "veterans or raw troops, escaped. Had they set off, "as Mírzá Muhsin, son-in-law of Fazl Khán of "Badakhshán, advised when he told them that rob-"bers were lying in wait, they would have arrived "safely; but as fate had decreed, so it occurred; "there was no help for it. The day when the deceas-"ed 'Allámí gave me a dress of honour and a horse "at Sironj, and dismissed me in the presence of Gopál "Dás, Mahdí 'Alí, the Kashmirian, and all the atten-"dants, with tearful eyes, I entreated to be allowed to

"escort him as far as Gwáliár with the troops that "he had left with me; but he would by no means "consent, for the hour of that great man had arriv- "ed and it was decreed that he should go. When he "mounted to start, I too mounted, in order to follow "him; but he peremptorily forbade me to do so or "even to come out of my house and dismissed me "from that place. * * * When 'Allámí arrived at "Sarái Bar and dismounted from his horse, a religious "beggar came to him and told him all particulars "about Bir Singh Bundelah, how he intended to "attack him the next day on his march; but he only "dismissed him with a present of money, such as he "used to give to others of his class. That night he "passed in careless security. On Friday morning, "he rose and, performing his ablutions, clothed him- "self in the white garments usually worn on Friday "and in the gold-embroidered robes of victory. He "then courteously dismissed all who had attended "him from the neighbouring provinces on the part of "the *jágírdars* and receivers of revenue such as the "servants of Mírzá Rustam, who had a *jágír* in the "neighbourhood and had sent 40 or 50 horsemen and "Shaikh Maçtafá, governor of Kálábágh, who had "a guard with him and several other persons of that "sort, amounting in all to about 200 horsemen, who "would have been of great service had he retained "them. But it is vain to lament. When fate droops "its wings from heaven, the most able men have be- "come deaf and dumb." "As the sun rose, that "rising sun set off with Ya'qúb Khán, with whom

"he was at that time very familiar. The attendants "hearing the drum beat for marching, prepared to "follow. The private tent of Abul Fazl was yet "standing when the troops of the Bundelah appear-"ed from behind the Saráï with a shout and fell upon "the camp. All the attendants who were ready, "mounted and escaped along the road, while Mírzá "Muhsin of Badakhshán who was in the act of mount-"ing, got on his horse and advanced towards the rob-"bers to reconnoitre. When he had gone a little "way, he came upon Bir Singh's main body. After "carefully surveying these forces from an eminence, "he, like a courageous man, cut his way through them "all, horse and foot, and reached 'Allámí. As soon "as he came up with the escort, he saw at a glance "that they were all quite off their guard, marching "in disorder, careless and without their arms. Going "forward, he reported what he had seen of the rob-"bers. As soon as the Shaikh heard it, he halted, "and asked him what was to be done. He advised "him to proceed rapidly. The Shaikh said, 'You "mean me to fly?' He answered, 'It is not fly-"ing; only let us go on thus,' and, striking his "spurs into his horse, he set forward at a rapid pace, "saying, 'Let us proceed in this way; as I am going, "'so do you go, as far as Gwáliár.'

"While 'Allámí was halting thus long, a troop of "the robbers caught the elephant which bore the "standard and drum and fell upon the escort; so the "fighting commenced. The Shaikh turned back and "had just reached the drum and ensign, which was

"at the distance of a bow-shot, when the noise of "Bir Singh's army which consisted of about 500 "horsemen clad in armour, was heard. Gadáí Khăn, "with several other armed horsemen who were in "front, charged and seizing the bridle of the Shaikh's "horse, exclaimed, 'What have you to do here? "'Do you begone! This is our business.' With "these words that brave soldier attacked the enemy, "with his son and others before mentioned, and fell. "At that moment one of the strangers in the com-"pany said, 'The robbers are armed and your at-"tendants are not; we had better escape to the skirts "of the hills; perhaps we may save our lives.' So "he took the bridle of the Shaikh's horse and turned "about. Just then the robbers made an onslaught, "spearing every man within reach. A Rájpút came "up and struck the Shaikh with a spear in the back, "so that it came out through his breast. There was "a small stream in the place and the Shaikh tried to "leap his horse over it, but he fell in the attempt. "Jabbár Khássa-khaíl who was close behind, slew "that Rájpút and then dismounting, drew the Shaikh "from under his horse and carried him a little off the "road; but as the wound was mortal, the Shaikh "fell."

"Just then Bir Singh coming up with the rest of "the Rájpúts, Jabbár concealed himself behind a tree. "But the horses of the Shaikh attracted the atten-"tion of Bir Singh and he halted. The driver of the "Shaikh's female elephant was with him and point-"ed out his wounded lord. As soon as Bir Singh

"saw him, he dismounted and taking his head upon "his knees, began to wipe his mouth with his own "garment. Jabbár, observing from behind the tree "that Bir Singh was in a compassionate mood, came "forward and saluted him. Bir Singh asked who he "was. Just then the Shaikh unclosed his eyes. Bir "Singh, sitting as he was, saluted him, and telling his "attendants to bring the *farmáns*, said to the Shaikh "with blandishment. 'The all-conquering lord has "sent for you courteously.' The Shaikh looked bit- "terly at him. Bir Singh swore that he would carry "him in safety to him. The Shaikh began to abuse "him angrily. Bir Singh's attendants then told him "he would not be able to convey him away, for the "wound was mortal; upon hearing which, Jabbár drew "his sword and, slaying several Rájpúts, had nearly "reached Bir Singh when they killed and trampled him "under foot. Bir Singh then rose from the Shaikh's "head and his attendants despatched him, and cutting "off the head of that great one, started off, meddling "with no one else, but even releasing those whom "they had taken prisoners."

No one had the courage to break the news of Abul Fazl's death to the Emperor. "According to an old "custom observed by Timur's descendants, the death "of a prince was not in plain words mentioned to "the reigning Emperor, but the prince's *vakíl* present- "ed himself before the throne with a blue handker- "chief round his wrist and, as no one else would "come forward to inform Akbar of the death of his "friend, Abul Fazl's *vakíl* presented himself with a

"blue handkerchief before the throne. Akbar be-"wailed Abul Fazl's death more than that of his son; "for several days he would see no one, and after in-"quiring into the circumstances, he exclaimed: 'If "Salím wished to be Emperor, he might have killed "me and spared Abul Fazl,' and then recited the fol-"lowing verse—

> "My Shaikh in his zeal, hastened to meet me,
> He wished to kiss my feet, and gave up his life."*

Not for Akbar only but for the empire was this man's death a loss, for (to quote Mr. Blochmann)† "Abul Fazl's influence on his age was immense. It "may be that he and Faizí led Akbar's mind away "from Islám and the Prophet—this charge is brought "against them by every Muhammadan writer—but "Abul Fazl also led his sovereign to a true apprecia-"tion of his duties and from the moment that he "entered court, the problem of successfully ruling "over mixed races which Islám in but few other "countries had to solve, was carefully considered and "the policy of toleration was the result. If Akbar "felt the necessity of this new law, Abul Fazl enun-"ciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the "Khán-khánáns gained the victories, the new policy "reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and "whilst Akbar's apostacy from Islám is all but for-"gotten, no Emperor of the Mughul dynasty has "come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people "than he. The reversion, on the other hand, in later

* Blochmann XXVII. Trs.

† Áín-i-Akbarí XXIX. Trs.

"times to the policy of religious intoleration, whilst "it has surrounded in the eyes of the Moslim the "memory of Aurangzíb with the halo of sanctity and "still inclines the pious to utter a *rahimahu-lláhu* "(May God have mercy on him!) when his name is "mentioned, was also the beginning of the breaking "up of the empire."

Abul Fazl's expedients and in particular, his attribution of Godlikedness to Akbar may be held as neither right nor elevated but they were fruitful. His aims show that his was no common mind but one soaring high above the rule. The blow of his death must have been terrible to Akbar. Mr. Blochmann, as has been said, tells us that after having inquired into the particulars, Akbar exclaimed; "if Salím wished to be Emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abul Fazl." It is however questionable whether Akbar knew the whole truth for who could give him proof and who dare to do so? he must have guessed who had given him this home-thrust but it is clear that he did not wish to take action against Salím. The speech above quoted, as well as the thought of superseding Salím in the succession, may have been extorted from his first anger but this thought, subsequent self-mastery must have banished.

In the outburst of his awakened indignation, the Emperor ordered that Bir Singh Deo should be hunted down and his head brought in. A force was sent, under Rái Ráyán (Rái Patr Dás) Rájah Ráj Singh Kachhwáhah and other commanders of whom Ziául Mulk was second. "After two or three months," writes

Asad Beg* "despatches came from the army to this "effect." We had completely routed Bir Singh and "driven him into the walled fort of Írich with a body "of 400 Rájpúts; we had invested the fort and made "our approaches and it seemed inevitable that he "must fall into our hands the next day. The fort is "situated on the banks of a broad deep river, the "other three sides being exposed to the land. The "general, Rái Ráyán undertook himself to guard the "river bank, placing the other officers on the three "remaining sides. At midnight when sleep was "heavy upon all, the Rájpúts got out. Cutting "through the wall on the river side, they led their "horses down the *glacis* and mounting upon the river "bank, crossed over at a place where there is some "kind of ford passing through the Rái Ráyán's ele- "phant stable (? quarters) and by the time your slaves "and the other chiefs had discovered what had hap- "pened, he had advanced far on his way. By this "stratagem, he has escaped."

"When their despatches had been read, the Em- "peror who thirsted for the blood of that wretch, fell "into the greatest conceivable passion and turning "to Shaikh Faríd, said he must go and investigate by "whose fault this had happened; for the Rái Ráyán "reports that Bir Singh escaped through the lines of "the Rájah of Gwáliár and the Rájah in his turn, "writes that he passed through the camp of the "general, while the second in command declares that "treachery has been at work, as he was completely

* Elliot VI, 160.

"entrapped. In short, each lays the blame on the "other. The Shaikh represented that Shaikh Abul "Khair, 'Allámí's brother, was very clever in inves- "tigations. As soon as he heard that name, His "Majesty exclaimed, 'I have it: send for Asad.' "It chanced that I was on guard that night and sit- "ting in the guard-room with Áká Mullá. About "eight o'clock, messengers arrived with orders for "me to come immediately to the fort. As soon as "I was announced, His Majesty called for me. I "made my obeisance and seeing marks of anger and "rage in the royal countenance, I feared he was "about to put me to death. When His Majesty and "the courtiers saw my alarm, they smiled and throw- "ing me the despatches, bade me read them. I first "perused that of the Rái Ráyán and was proceeding "with the rest when he asked me, whether I had "understood the contents. I replied that I had part- "ly done so. He said, 'Now this has happened, do "you go to the camp and inquire whose fault it is "and investigate the whole affair, for I am very much "annoyed at this accident and therefore have deter- "mined to send you.' I made my obeisance and re- "plied that I would use my utmost endeavours to "fail in nothing." * * * *

"As soon as the Rájah and all the officers were "assembled, I produced a sheet made of pieces of "cloth sewn together, upon which was drawn a plan "of the fort of Írich, with the river on one side and "the gates and tower on the other three. The en- "campment of each chief was marked thereon, with

"the number of his forces. I then called Ziául "Mulk and made him write the name of each chief in "the place which his forces had occupied and made "them all attach their seals to it. I also marked the "place where Bir Singh made his exit and the spot at "which he passed the river. When the chiefs had all "affixed their seals to this sheet, I asked them whether "they had thus represented it. After we had eaten "betel and received perfumes, I took leave of all. The "son of Muhammad Khán Tátár, a near connexion "and relative of mine, was appointed to escort me with "1000 horse to Gwáliár. * * * 'Whose fault was "it?' cried the Emperor to his envoy. I bowed and "replied that I would relate all particulars; but he "again insisted that I should tell him what fault I "thought there had been. Seeing his impatience, I "replied, 'I cannot say that any one has erred inten-"tionally. There has only been great neglect and all "are alike guilty; that is my humble opinion.' Shaikh "Faríd said, 'Neglect is also a fault.' I answered, "'That is a fault which is committed intentionally "and that is carelessness which happens without any "ill intention.' I was going to say more to the Shaikh "when His Majesty rose, and said, 'Asad is right.' "From the way he spoke, it was evident that he was "very much pleased and I saw that my words had "been agreeable to him."

How invaluable would Abul Fazl's historical work have been if it had been composed with the candour of Asad Beg instead of constantly adapting itself to the tendency for which its author so heroically lost

his life! Abul Fazl insists on pointing out the God in Akbar so that his sovereign may endeavour to outgrow the ordinary human stature and by believing in his Godlikedness, at length attain to it. Asad Beg depicts men who love and hate, stumble and stand firm as he himself does. His own aniability is his general standard. How clear it is that he lets Faríd speak in order to express Akbar's thought by the contrast between the simplicity of the soldier and his own courtly adroitness. He is frank when he trembles for his life before the clouded temper of his sovereign, and frank when he rejoices in the success of his mission of investigation.

The Emperor could not avenge his best beloved and most faithful friend. Bir Singh was attacked and plundered several times but contrived still to escape the vengeance of his pursuers even of his victim's son, 'Abdurrahmán. He was once wounded, but "though with blistered feet" effected his escape. At length the accession of Jahángír removed for him all cause of apprehension. He presented himself at court and was rewarded for his dastard service by being allowed to supersede his brother in the headship of his clan and by a *manṣab* of 3,000.*

* Elliot VI, 113, 114 and 288; Blochmann 487. Trs.

CHAPTER IV.

The Death of Akbar.

As an ice-crownèd mountain towers above the clouds, so now towered Akbar alone, above his contemporaries. Of those who had once surrounded him most had passed into the darkness of death. Todar Mall, the sturdy oak; Faizí, the charming vine; and many another of undying name. Akbar was solitary; the pen even by which he had desired to speak to posterity was fallen from its holder's hand—Abul Fazl was no more; the Emperor's closest friend was dead by a murderer's hand and his murderer was unpunished. What, at this time—when he caused a wretched lamp-lighter to be dashed in pieces for neglect of his work and for falling asleep too near the throne—made him himself neglect the duties of his station? He was no longer the old Akbar; his health fluctuated and he had contracted the habit of opium-eating. He must moreover have come to doubt the practicability of his ideals and now no Abul Fazl nourished the comfortable faith in a divine mission. Younger generations had arisen whom Akbar's heart knew not. Beyond his sovereignty, what had time spared him but hope for his race? And now, his eldest son, the child of his early desire, had with bloody hand fashioned the first nail for his coffin. Deep and bitter was the feeling stirred by this wound; Akbar even

had thoughts of revoking his nomination of Salím to the succession and of superseding him by Khusrau.

In the confusion of obtruding problems, discrimination is difficult at this point, while the translations are scanty and arouse doubt. At the time of Abul Fazl's death, there lived of Akbar's sons not only Salím but Dányál. It is nowhere said that the Emperor had any thought of designating the latter for the crown and it may be inferred that he knew Dányál's character and foresaw his end. Murád having died of *delirium tremens*, Dányál's death from the same cause must have made a strong impression on their father and this certainly in favour of Salím. Dányál died a few months before Akbar, but all accounts of him are so unfavourable that his earlier rejection as a candidate for the throne may be regarded as a fact. 'Ináyatullah speaks of efforts and even of forcible regulations for restraining his intemperance. Here and there, a good result is chronicled, only to be followed by the record of a so much more deplorable relapse. In the hope of reforming his habits, a marriage was, in 1604, arranged for him with a daughter of Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh. The betrothal took place in Ahmadnagar whither the princess came with a splendid retinue in which was numbered Firishtah. Dányál however speedily fell again into his old excesses and Abul Khair, a brother of Abul Fazl was despatched to Burhánpúr to endeavour to bring him to court "where "he might be forced to abstain from the ruinous course "of inebriety which had reduced him to the most

1012—3 H.

"debilitated condition." The mission was fruitless and although, somewhat later, Dányál prevailed on himself to part with three of his favourite elephants which he sent as a gift to his father, to court he would not go. If any thought of making him Emperor ever occurred, it will have been now,
1014 H. in 1605, when he adduces fear of Salím as the ground of his reluctance to visit the court. That he could plead such an excuse proves that no affection existed between the brothers but having regard to the rapidity with which Dányál's death followed his excuse, the conjecture arises that it was but a pretext for the avoidance of stricter correctional measures. Salím describes Dányál's death, truthfully perhaps but with a heartlessness which was all his own.*

"Dányál was not more than thirty years of age "when he also died at Burhánpúr in consequence of "his intemperate indulgence in the use of spirituous "liquors. His death was accompanied with circum-"stances in some respects so remarkable that I cannot "withhold myself from recording them in this place. "He was extremely fond of shooting and the amuse-"ments of the chase and had a favourite fowling-"piece to which he had given the name of *jennauzah*—"the bier—and on which he had caused to be inlaid a "couplet to the following purport:

"In the pleasures of the chase with thee, my soul breathes fresh and clear—tazwah—
"But who receives thy fatal mission, sinks lifeless on the bier—jennauzah."

"His excesses in the disgraceful propensity to which

* Price 47.

[illegible stamp]

"I am obliged to refer, having been carried beyond all "bounds of moderation, orders were at last issued, "under the directions of Khán-khánán, that he should "no longer receive any supply of liquor and that those "who were detected in any attempt to convey such "supply, would be punished with death. For some "time, deterred by the fears of such punishment, none "of his attendants ventured even to utter the names "of liquors and several days were permitted to elapse "under these circumstances. At last no longer able to "endure this abstinence from his habitual indulgence, "Dányál, with tears and entreaties, implored Murshid "Qulí, one of his corps of gunners, to procure him "even the most trifling quantity of the poisonous "liquid, promising him advancement to the summit of "his wishes provided he would comply with his request. "Murshid Qulí, affected by the touching humility "of the Prince's address, at last desired to know in "what way it was possible to gratify him without "incurring the risk of discovery and certain death. "Dányál replied that at such a moment, a draught "of liquor was to him as much as life itself, 'Go,' said "he, 'and bring me the spirit in the barrel of one "of my fowling pieces; twice or thrice repeated I "shall be satisfied and thou wilt be safe against dis-"covery, or even suspicion.' Subdued by these "intreaties Murshid Qulí did as he was desired; filled "the piece, ominously named *jennauzah* with spirits "and brought it to his master. As the inauspicious "name had been given to the piece by himself, it "was so ordained by Providence that to drink what

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"was conveyed by it and to be laid on his bier was "one and the same thing. He drank of the liquid "mischief and died: so true is it, that the tongue "should be restrained from indulging in rash expres-"sions."

Salím who loved neither God nor man, was in the highest degree superstitious. The story of the "bier" may be a concoction but 'Ináyatullah gives it confirmation by saying that "base parasites contrived to "introduce poison unperceived, sometimes conceal-"ing it in the barrels of muskets, sometimes in their "turbans."

On Dányál Akbar's thoughts cannot for a moment have dwelt when he took counsel with himself as to the succession. Salím, though also grossly intemperate, was in every way stronger than Dányál; he had at least ambition to rule and his very faults of rebellion while causing Akbar sorrow, must have placed him in a better light than Dányál's weaknesses cast upon him who was but the toy of despicable passion.

Akbar was tender-hearted to his children. When in the years of his growing moderation and failing strength, he drew comparisons between Salím and Dányál, may he not have hoped that Salím's vanity would ripen into that love of glory which had inspired himself? Decidedly the balance inclined in Salím's favour. But if fatherly love and decaying powers inclined the balance in Salím's favour, they also explain why they caused Khusrau's scale to fall, for Akbar's grandchild's path to rule must have crossed the body of Akbar's son.

The question of Akbar's military strength is more difficult than that of the succession. Was the Empêror in a position to contend with Salím? He was perceptibly failing and his elasticity was relaxed; war lay practically in the hands of his grandees. The generals of his early prime were for the most part dead or old, but the most distinguished man of the younger generation, 'Abdurrahím Mírzá, could certainly be counted on. After 'Abdurrahím, 'Azíz Kokah and Mán Singh have to be considered. Their interests centered in Khusrau but, if he were not designated for the succession, they would unquestionably support Salím. Khusrau's nomination would have been Salím's death-warrant and this Akbar could not bring himself to utter. This reflection must have been decisive with Akbar. How far the condition of the empire contributed to the decision cannot be asserted. It was a matter of little moment that the royal house of Udaipúr was still struggling for independence—and this with growing success since the departure of Salím and Mán Singh—or that Malik 'Ambar still resisted in the Dak'hin. On other occasions—such as when he left Bengal in revolt and moved to quell Muhammad Hakím's rebellion—the Emperor had left revolted provinces in his rear if the crown was in danger. Salím's Muhammadan policy—a policy which attained such prominence in later years—seems to have been of greater influence in Akbar's decision. If it would always have been repellant to Mán Singh and to 'Azíz Kokah—the latter being a member of the Dín i Iláhí—it was a policy

which would have attractions for all the lesser Moslim vassals who doubtless concurred as little in Akbar's religious policy as in its outcome, Hindú emancipation.

In forming an estimate of the situation, personal considerations seem the most certain facts and granting this, due weight must be given to feminine influence. Jahángír's memoirs testify to his pliability under this force and he even acknowledges that one of his wives showed him the path to a reformed life. No amplification of the point is necessary in the case of Akbar. After Abul Fazl's murder, a woman effected the reconciliation between the Emperor and his offending son. She was Sulṭán Salímah Begum, a lady known as a poet under the pseudonym of Makhfí—*concealed*. The Emperor Humáyún had promised her in marriage to Bairám Khán and Akbar had effected the union a short time before the Regent's downfall. On Bairám's death, Akbar had himself married the widowed Begum.*

She journeyed to Allahabad "in order that she "might by her influence, bring to the imperial Court, "the Prince Sulṭán Salím who had been repeatedly "reported to have thrown the concealing veil of re- "pentance over his offences and was therefore press- "ingly and graciously invited to the presence." In the beginning of the 48th Iláhí year, "his Majesty "received a welcome despatch from the prince, re- "porting that he had, agreeably to the imperial "orders, already passed Etawah and that he hoped,

* Chalmers II, 554.

"by being speedily enabled to prostrate himself in "the presence, to attain to both worldly and eternal "felicity. The Sulṭán Salímah Begum, having inter- "ceded between his Majesty and the young prince, "reconciled the monarch to the wonted exercise of "paternal affection while at the same time, she also "procured for Salím the pardon of Akbar's august "mother. When he therefore approached the capital, "that venerable matron proceeded one day's journey "to meet him and brought him to her own private "abode and even his Majesty, to conciliate his illus- "trious son, advanced several steps to receive him. "The prince on this occasion presented 12,000 *muhrs*, "and 770 elephants, of which 354 were thought "worthy to be received into the royal stables and the "rest were graciously bestowed upon and returned to "the giver. And soon after this, an elephant named "Lone, the chiefest of all the imperial collection, "being humbly demanded by the prince Sulṭán Salím, "was generously conceded to him; and after a short "interval, His Majesty conferred on him the royal "diadem which is the main source of ornament to the "court of sovereignty and the chief light of the pomp "of royalty."

It is a pity that this scene was not described by Asad Beg; it would have been far more lifelike. Beyond the action of the royal mother, one only distinctive trait is handed down by 'Ináyatullah, namely Salím's request for the coveted elephant. This request was not, as may appear at first sight, a trifling matter; it had perhaps more significance than the

disarmament which is indicated by his surrender of the large number of elephants named. On reading of it, Burckhardt's remarks on the lions of Perugia, Florence and Rome, recur involuntarily to mind.* "Sometimes these animals served as the executioners "of political offenders and even apart from this, they "kept awake a certain terror among the people— "moreover their demeanour was considered oracular." These words exactly describe royal elephants with the addition that, in their case, the word oracular must be made incomparably more emphatic.

Salím had obtained the diadem of the heir-apparent; in this he had touched his desire but his more ambitious plans had been frustrated. 'Ináyatullah says that in the 48th year, "an order was again issued "that the prince should a second time brace his "courage to the destruction of this doomed infidel" (the Ráná). "But the inclinations of the young "prince were not heartily engaged in the enterprise. "He reported that his troops were not prepared and "made extravagant demands both for increased forces "and treasure. Moreover he intimated his wish that if "his exorbitant demands were not complied with, he "might be allowed to return to his own *jágír*. His "Majesty, accordingly, guessing the object of his "conduct, directed that he might consider himself at "liberty to return to Allahábád and to present him- "self at court whenever afterwards he chose to do so. "The prince accepted this permission."

* Die cultur der Renaissance in Italien; dritte auflage, besorgt von Ludwig Geiger. Band II, 11. Leipzig, 1878.

In the beginning of the 49th year, mention is made of the reception at court of an envoy who conveyed Salím's thanks for a garment of black and white fox fur, for which he had asked his father. 'Ináyatullah's next reference to the prince is as follows;* "Reports arrived about this time that the practice of "indulging in wine drinking and of the excessive "use of opium had affected the health of Prince "Royal Sulṭán Salím and had rendered his disposition so tyrannical and irritable that the slightest offences were visited with the heaviest punishments—"that pardon was never thought of and his adherents, "struck dumb with terror, stood before him like the "lifeless pictures of a painted wall. His Majesty, aware "that a word of counsel spoken on the spot would "avail more than a thousand at a distance, and also "desirous of visiting the fort of Allahábád which he "had never personally inspected since it was first "in building, determined to proceed thither both to "effect the reformation of the prince and to make his "observations on the persons who were about him."

11th Shariur 1013 H.

On 21st August 1604, he encamped on the banks of the Jamnah, near the city and "there took boat but the state barge ran "aground the first night and all efforts to get her off, "failed. The next day the quantity of rain which fell, "prevented further progress and by the 15th accounts "were received of the so dangerous illness of his august mother and also of the despair of her physicians that not only was his further progress arrested

* Chalmers II, 571.

"but his affectionate heart was overwhelmed with "grief at the distressing state in which he found his "parent. Her days had indeed reached their close "and, as when he arrived, she was lying incapable of "speech or hearing, His Majesty retired with a heart "full of sorrow to his own chamber where he gave "himself up to prayer. On the 20th of the same month "her venerable Majesty departed, leaving the world "in grief, and Akbar clad himself in the deepest "mourning, avoided all sort of ornament in his ap- "parel and shaved both his head and beard. Her "body was conveyed to Dihlí, His Majesty himself "placing his shoulder under the bier for several paces "and the same office was performed by the chief "*omras* of the state. All the attendants of the court "shaved themselves and clad themselves in weeds but "on the next day, Shaikh Faríd Bakshí was directed "to order them to resume their usual habiliments. "After the death of Akbar's mother his previous in- "tent of proceeding to Allahabad was still on that "account deferred. Salím, learning the grief and "distress of His Majesty, left* behind him Sharíf "who had been the chief author of the death of Abul "Fazl† and on 14th November arrived at "the presence and presented a diamond "worth a *lakh* of *rupís* and 200 *muhrs* as an offering "and 400 elephants as a tribute. The young prince "was for ten days placed under the charge of Rúp "Khawass, Arjumn Hujam and Rájah Salíváhan, each

4th Azar.

* Chalmers II, 575 and Muhammad Amín. Elliot VI, 247.

† Blochmann 517. Trs.

"of his followers was in the same manner made over "to one of the imperial attendants and Bású (the Rájah "of Mau), the instigator of the prince's faults who had "remained on the other side of the river, was also "ordered to be pursued but contrived to gain intelli-"gence and escaped. At the end of ten days however, "the prince's loyalty and integrity became resplendent "and he was remanded with joy and gladness to his "own residence. After which all his attendants were "allowed to rejoin him at his request."

It is difficult to say whether any historical significance is to be attached to the above statement about Sharíf. He had been a companion of Salím's boyhood and exercised great influence on him. In any case, the passage affords proof that the Emperor was willing to spare his son but not his son's guilty associates and this may be seen also from the continuing pursuit of Bir Singh Deo and of Rájah Bású. Salím's ten days' captivity were probably more for form's sake than with any hope of good result; possibly a saddened mood turned the Emperor's thoughts to rendering Salím powerless and to his supersession by Khusrau. Akbar was not however the man he had once been; he was sick and broken-hearted.* It would almost seem that he desired to leave the question of the succession to the arbitrament of chance.

The news of the Emperor's failing powers had drawn both Salím and his son Khusrau to court and

* It is not unfair to Akbar's greatness to bear in mind that in Abul Fazl he had lost his good genius and devoted friend, and that the loss of the wise and generous counsels of this soul of the sovereignty made itself speedily felt. Trs.

it may easily be supposed that, as Ásad Beg hints, there was brisk intrigue amongst their respective adherents. At variance with himself, Akbar seems to have determined on a kind of ordeal by means of an elephant fight. Such spectacles were general and popular, but this one acquires special significance from Akbar's tendency to mysticism.* He is known to have consulted the stars before entering on one campaign; he regarded the sun as the image of God and with his Rájpút wives offered it sacrifice. His world was full of wonders. What was his interest in the fights of spiders? It can hardly have been the resolution of a problem in natural history. How did it occur to Abul Fazl to close his introduction to the Áín which treats of animal fights,† with the words,—"Even superficial, worldly people thus learn zeal and "attachment and are induced by these gatherings to "inquire after the road of salvation." Abul Fazl indeed counts these seeming amusements as among acts of worship, but men of that strongly positive age were not impelled by the abstract thought of recognizing the Creator in the creature.

Salím and Khusrau both being at court, Akbar took a fancy for seeing two of their elephants fight. This fancy reveals a touch of disease, for he whose feelings were once so true, would once have said to himself that as the princes were already on bad terms,

* The mysticism inferred by Dr. von Buchwald in Akbar's order for an elephant fight is not suggested by any of the translations from the Persian. Trs.

† Blochmann 218.

still greater ill-feeling would be aroused in the owner of the worsted elephant. The scheme was not like one of Akbar's.* The Emperor's action at this time may be illustrated by another matter.†

Just before the elephant fight under mention, he gave Asad Beg a commission to go to the Dak'hin and from its four provinces "to collect whatever they may "have of fine elephants and rare jewels throughout "their dominions, to bring back with you. Their "money you may keep. I want nothing but their "choice and rare elephants and jewels, you must "secure things of this kind for the government, the "rest I give you. You must not relax your efforts as "long as there is one fine elephant or rare jewel out "of your grasp in the Dak'hin." Such tyranny was in no way uncommon in the history of India but was up to this time unheard of in the life of Akbar. It suited rather with Salím's actions but it was Akbar's, in the days of his sickness and depression. Asad's commission and the elephant fight foreboded the Emperor's end.

The day of the contest was come. "Salím‡ had "an elephant of the name of *Giránbár* who was a

* Khafí Khán attributes the proposition of the fight to the princes. Trs.

† The singular passage about to be quoted certainly requires illumination by the dry light of a critical knowledge of Persian and a fuller acquaintance with Asad Beg. The extracts from Asad Beg given by Sir Henry Elliot are of extreme interest but one point in them appears to have been overlooked by Dr. von Buchwald when he compares Asad Beg with Abul Fazl in the matter of undue adulation:—Asad Beg does not praise Akbar overmuch it is true—he perhaps wrote in Jahangír's reign—but these extracts show him as prone to flatter Jahangír as was ever Abul Fazl, Akbar. Trs.

‡ Blochmann 467; Elliot VI, 169.

"match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but "whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of "*Ábrúp* one of Khusrau's elephants. Akbar there-"fore wished to see them fight for the championship "which was done. According to custom, a third "elephant, *Rantahman*, was selected as *ṭabánchah*, "*i. e.*, he was to assist either of the two combatants "when too severely handled by the other. At the "fight, Akbar and Prince Khurram (Sháhjahán) sat "at a window, whilst Salím and Khusrau were on "horseback in the arena. Giránbár completely "worsted Ábrúp and as he mauled him too severely, "the *ṭabánchah* elephant was sent off to Ábrúp's "assistance. But Salím's man, anxious to have no "interference, pelted Rantahman with stones, and "wounded the animal and the driver. This annoyed "Akbar, and he sent Khurram to Salím to tell him not "to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would "once be his. Salím said that the pelting of stones "had never had his sanction and Khurram, satisfied "with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants "by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately "Rantahman also got worsted by Giránbár and the "two injured elephants ran away and threw them-"selves into the Jamnah. This annoyed Akbar more." Wherefore? what was even the choicest elephant to the Emperor of India who had just commissioned Asad Beg to extort others from four provinces. The elephant was nothing to him but the ill-omen of Khusrau's defeat was much, for already the might of his Godlikedness bowed before a piteous physical

weakness. The scene is terribly tragic; the Emperor, angry and apprehensive—Salím, assured of the crown, standing before him with a phrase of excuse on his lips—Kushrau, despairing of the succession "abusing "his father." Where now was the deity whose effluence Akbar dreamed himself to be? and whose presence was to rest, amongst all mankind, upon Akbar's children? Was it to men like Salím and Khusrau that all India and all her races—her races looking for redemption—were to be entrusted? And these were men of his own blood.

The monarch rose and withdrew; his fate was sealed. He sent next morning for his physician 'Alí to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khusrau's bad behaviour had made him ill.* He was attacked by dysentery or acute diarrhœa. His physician "re-"frained for eight days from administering medicines "under the hope that his Majesty's vigour of consti-"tution would overcome the disease." At length he gave a strong astringent which stopped the dysentery but produced fever and strangury. To remedy these evils, purgatives were administered which renewed the first ailment and, in Salím's opinion, killed the patient. Under this treatment, the disease certainly took an unfavourable turn and to its force, mental depression added its evil influence. Akbar had now nothing for which to live. The lofty dream upon which the most worthy part of his life was founded had dissolved; no religious fervour now flamed for the welding of the nations; was it cooling also in his

* Blochmann 467. Trs.

own soul? Like many another of Salím's statements, that is false which avers that in Akbar's last hours he turned again to Islám. The Emperor may indeed have foreseen the Muhammadan reaction of which Salím had already made himself the champion and, in view of it, may have avoided everything which could serve to raise this refluent tide to fatal height. During the greater part of his illness, his mind was calm and clear and occupied with care for his Empire.*

Round the dying ruler were gathered a few trusty friends: Hakím 'Alí, his physician—'Azíz Kokah, his foster-brother—Mán Singh, bound to him by marriage ties and those of lengthened loyal service—Çadr Jahán Muftí, the jovial comrade of many a hunting day. Outside the palace ebbed and flowed a crowd, tense with mingled curiosity and sympathy. The sick man can have known little of the excitement which prevailed in other rooms of the fort and in the palaces of some of his nobles. Wind had been sown and a harvest of storm would have to be garnered in brief space after the Emperor should have been laid to rest.

During the Emperor's illness, the cares of government had fallen on the shoulders of 'Azíz Kokah. It is certain that he joined with Mán Singh in an endeavour to place Khusrau on the throne. They now conspired to seize Salím when he should come to pay his customary daily visit to his father. On the

* The German text represents Akbar as dying on the steps of the throne in the audience hall where he had been accustomed to receive foreign princes etc. See Price, (76) from which it would appear that Akbar died in his private apartments. Trs.

day on which this scheme was to be carried out, the prince's boat had reached the fort when Mír Ziául Múlk of Qazwín sprang into it in great agitation, bringing word of the hopeless state of the Emperor and of the plot against Salím. The conspirators' arrow had missed its aim and, having rent the veil of their secret, they were obliged to throw off all disguise. In the audience hall in the fort of Ágrah were assembled "all the royal servants and officers in "great distress and agitation.* The Khán i A'zam "and Rájah Mán Singh sat down and calling all "the nobles together, began to consult with them, "and went so far as to say, 'The character of the "high and mighty Prince Sulṭán Salím is well "known and the Emperor's feelings towards him "are notorious; for he by no means wishes him "to be his successor. We must all agree to place "Sulṭán Khusrau upon the throne.' When this "was said, Sa'íd Khán Chagátáï who was one of the "great nobles and connected with the royal house "and descended from an ancient and illustrious "Mughul family, cried out; 'Of what do you speak, "that in the existence of a prince like Salím Sháh, "we should place his son upon the throne. This is "contrary to the laws and customs of the Chagátáï

* Elliot VI, 171 ff. Asad Beg was certainly not in Ágrah at the time of Akbar's death but was well-informed as to the details of the event. His narrative is followed here, because it betrays no bias but shows himself a courtier in his style and a loyalist in thought. It is clear and simple. Jahángír's memoirs contain more details of various kinds, but they are recorded with the bias of egoism. The death scene in which Jahángír places verses in his father's mouth, is poetical in conception but a gross misrepresentation, as are so many other stories of dying hours.

"Tátárs and shall never be.' He and Malik Khair, "who was also a great chief and well skilled in business, with others of their opinion, rose and left the "assembly. The Khán i A'zam who was at the bottom of all these evil designs, concealed his rage and "could say nothing. The assembly broke up and each "went his own way. Rájah Rám Dás Kachhwáhah "with all his followers, immediately went to guard "the treasury and Murtazá Khán left the fort and "retiring to his own residence, took steps to assemble the Sayyids of Bárha and his own followers. Meanwhile Mírzá Sharíf and Mu'tamid Khán "came and asked him what he intended to do. "Knowing them to be his friends, he said, 'I intend "to go to the Prince.' Mu'tamid Khán expressed "his readiness to do the same and Murtazá Khán "bade him go first to the prince and say that he "would be there immediately with his followers. So "he went to his Royal Highness."

Salím had meantime returned with his preserver, Mír Ziául Mulk, to his own palace. He was urged to flee and told "Your enemies have completed their "work and placed Sulṭán Khusrau on the throne and "declare that they will point the guns of the fort "against this house." Salím was about to order his private boats when he received testimony that loyalty and love for ancient rights were still living in many a heart. If Salím had barely a friend, he possessed in Shaikh Ruknuddín Rohilla a faithful servant with a large following. This man persuaded Salím to defer his flight for two hours. "The prince was still listen-

"ing to this brave advice when all at once, Mírzá "Sharíf came in and told him how the assembly of "his enemies had broken up and that Murtazá Khán "was coming to join him. His Royal Highness was "much delighted and began to encourage his people "when Faríd Beg came and made salutations and Mír "Murtazá Khán arrived with a large body of attendants and many of the noble Sayyids of Bárha and "saluting him, began to beat the drums to celebrate "the day. The prince forbad the music, on account "of the sad state of the Emperor but honoured Mír "Murtazá with a special dress of honour and a jewelled "scimitar. People began to flock in, each striving "to be the first to arrive, till at last, in the evening, "Khán i A'zam came in great shame and paid his "respects. The prince took not the least notice of "his ill-conduct and bestowed all royal kindness upon "him. When Rájah Mán Singh saw the change in "the aspect of affairs, he took Sultán Khusrau with "him to his own palace and prepared boats, intending "to escape next day to Bengal."

"As soon as the prince Salím was relieved from "all anxiety as to the course affairs were taking, he "went with his great nobles and Mír Murtazá at "their head, without fear, to the fort and approached "the dying Emperor. He was still breathing, as if "he had only waited to see that illustrious one." Whether he spoke on this night—it was of Tuesday, 15th October O. S. 1605*—as Jahángír states, may be left an open question. Jahángír says,† that his father desired that every

2nd Abán 1014 H.
12th Jumádí-ulakhir.

* Blochmann 212n. Trs. † Price 76. Trs.

amír should be summoned to his presence. "Anxious "to comply with his desire, I directed Khwájah Waisí to "bring the whole of them to the dying monarch's sick "chamber. My father after wistfully regarding them "all round, intreated that they would bury in oblivion "all the errors of which he could be justly accused. "Then he quoted some couplets." Asad's account differs. The prince "entered and bowed himself at the feet "of his Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. "The Emperor once more opened his eyes and signed to "them to invest him (Salím) with the turban and robes "which had been prepared for him and to gird him "with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated "themselves and did homage; at the same moment "that sovereign, whose sins are forgiven, bowed him-"self also and closed his life." "God created him "and to God he has returned."*

* The account of Akbar's death given in Tod's Annals of Rájasthán (I, 351 ff) is palpably incorrect and deserves no refutation although followed by Talboys Wheeler (IV. part I, 174 ff).

CHAPTER V.

At the grave of Akbar.

In the garden of Bihishtábád, at Sikandrah, some six miles from Ágrah, Akbar had begun to build a mausoleum and thither his soulless body was borne on the day following his death—16th October 1605.

13th Jumádí II. 1014 H.

As Akbar was unique amongst his contemporaries, so was his place of burial amongst other Indian tombs—indeed one may say with confidence amongst the sepulchres of all Asia. His mortal remains are to the present day enclosed by this stone symbol of his creative genius. The building is one of the best preserved of Indian monuments notwithstanding that on it too, time has set his tooth and it has not been altogether spared by human wantonness. But how quickly was quenched the humane tolerance which was so incorporated in Akbar that he could in this quality have given lessons to the nineteenth century. His fancied godhead found a tragic end—he himself, the great-souled man, had power centuries after his death, to move to its depths the enthusiasm of a noble German heart. Evidence of this power is given by the following letter of Prince Friedrich August of Schleswig-Holstein.*

Ágrah, 24th April 1868. "To-day the compara-"tively cool morning hours were spent in a visit to "Sikandrah whither we journeyed to lay roses on the "tomb of that Akbar whose greatness, might and "magnificence have impressed us so variously and so

* *i. e.* Count von Noer, the author of the present work. (Trs.)

"vividly since we have seen the countless memorials "of his rule and of his creative genius. These are so "numerous here and in the neighbourhood of the "city that with a certain pride, many of the people "call Ágrah, Akbarábád. And well indeed is the "name justified, for, with perhaps exception of Dihlí "and Láhor, one can hardly find in India ruins great-"er in extent or more interesting in detail. Sikan-"drah is reached by the old military road from Ágrah "to Dihlí which British solicitude has made into an ex-"cellent highway. On it, here and there, are still to be "seen the ancient milestones. It runs in a north-west-"erly direction, at some little distance from the right "bank of the Jamnah, and traverses a cultivated plain "which is strewn with a confused medley of the "mutilated remains of former might and splendour. "Higher than all, there gleam in the morning sun-"light, slender minarets and shapely domes of white "marble which rise above the virescent foliage and "above the crimson sandstone of the wall which gir-"dles the garden of Bihishtábád. These beautiful and "characteristic objects at once become the centre of "attraction in the landscape and a nearer view "only proves them the more fit to fix the roving eye. "It is, however, only in closest neighbourhood to the "building that one receives a just impression of it as "a whole, with its magnificent height and with its "amazing wealth and gracious variety of detail. "Such is the enchantment of this reality that one "seems face to face with some fairy castle of ancient "legend."

"After driving for about an hour, we diverged

"from the high road and by following a field path, "reached the western of the four great portals which "lead into the mausoleum garden. This gateway is "the best preserved and from its stately height and "beauty might itself be mistaken for a palace. Like "the other gateways and like the battlemented gar-"den walls, it is built of deep-toned red sandstone "delightfully broken by the white marble of corner "minarets as well as by ornamentation of glazed blue "tiles and courses of white stone.

"Above the doorway is the drum room—the *naqqá-"rah khanah*—a spacious vaulted apartment having "a balcony from which at sunrise and set, kettle-"drums were once beaten to an accompaniment of "horns and trumpets, in honour of the dead. Here "were also the quarters of the guardians of the tomb "and of twenty *mullás* who prayed day and night "and read the Qorán in turns, at the grave. In the "room whence once issued imperial music, there lives "to-day as guardian of this memorial of departed "greatness, a British sergeant. Having obtained "permission to enter, I passed—together with my "servants, Sayyid 'Abdullah and Já'far Khán—"under the mighty portal, into the garden. Its not "insignificant size and its neglected condition give "one the impression of a jungle—even if a half-re-"deemed one. That it must have been charming in "its day—rich in water, shadow, fruit and the flowers "which are dear to the Oriental—is shown by the ele-"gant fountain-basins, the broad red-paved ways "and by the now disused water-courses which tran-"sect its tangled copses of fragrant-flowered creepers

"and of forest and fruit trees. In the centre of this "abode of paradise—as its name has it—the magnifi- "cent mausoleum rises to the height of 100 feet. "In form it is an oblong pyramid of five stories— "unique in plan, execution and in the marvellous "expressiveness which it derives from its captivating "union of contrasts. It is not only a monument; "it is also an almost perfect work of art. Few build- "ings could better answer their purpose; for when "under its influence—whether this works through it "as a whole or through its charming juxtaposition of "separate parts—one feels breathed upon by the rare "spirit of him whose husk it shrouds, and the more "marvellous and nearly perfect the stamp of genius "and character set upon such a master-piece, the more "vivid becomes one's realization of what the great "dead might have been in life. To Akbar's tomb, "Heber's epigram is strictly appropriate for it is as "if designed by Titans and finished by jewellers."

"Although large and massive, the structure is "neither heavy nor oppressive; on the contrary, it "takes on an inspiriting lightness from its height "and from a softness of outline in its cupolas and "minarets which borders on gaiety. Like the gate- "way, the lower part is of sandstone and the upper of "white marble. The several stories are joined by "flights of steps and are moreover encircled by clois- "tered terraces. The highest storey which, as Fer- "gusson seems rightly to infer, was never finished, is "open to the sky instead of being closed by the cus- "tomary dome. In its centre is a cenotaph inscribed "in graceful Arabic characters with the ninety-nine

"names and attributes of God. This same inscrip-
"tion finds employment elsewhere as a decoration.
"Artistically fretted marble screens enclose the sides
"of this platform—the crown of the building and the
"climax of its beautiful and varied decoration.*

"In complete contrast to this is the lowest storey
"where is the grave itself. Down from a doorway
"in it, which is opposite the western entrance to the
"garden—consequently opening towards the west—
"descends a steep, narrow and dark passage to a
"central chamber which is somewhat below the level
"of the terrace from which the whole mausoleum
"rises and immediately below the terrace on which
"stands the cenotaph in the upper storey. It
"is bewildering to pass into the dusky gloom of
"this passage and of the burial chamber from the
"outer glare of brilliant light and colour; there
"where all is monotone and unadorned, the eye must
"accustom itself to the feeble glimmer before it can
"discern aright. When it has recovered vision, the
"contrast with the scene outside is felt as the more
"singular that within all is perceived to be severely
"and baldly simple. The vault is a chamber 35 feet
"square with smooth whitewashed walls rising into
"a fairly lofty rounded roof. Towards the east
"opens a small slit through which a feeble ray of
"the morning sun enters the well-nigh dark cham-
"ber. Thus simply housed and standing on a sandy
"floor, is an unpretending tomb, devoid of ornament
"and closed by a fleckless slab of white marble.

* Narrative of a journey through the Upper Provinces of India—by Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta. London, 1849. Vol. II, 8 *et seq.*

"The tomb is so placed that the dead man has his "head to the west—his face consequently to the "east and the rising sun—in opposition to the pre- "vailing Muhammadan custom which turns the face "to Makkah. At one end of the lid is inscribed in "Arabic characters, the single word "Akbar" and "only this tells who lies below. On our way through "the garden a few venerable greyheads had joined "us; their beards were long and white, their turbans "wide of girth and their clothing plain to penury. "One represented himself as the gardener, another "as the guardian of the tomb and the offerer "of customary prayers. To these offices, the latter "joined that of a Muazzin when sufficient persons "were near to respond to his summons. We will- "ingly accepted the offer of the two to serve as "guides, and we found entertainment in the cordial "chat of the worthy and courteous couple. While "we were standing in the twilight of the vault, they, "as if by tacit understanding, struck a light and soon "each of us was furnished with a flaming torch. Thus "provided, we thrice paced slowly round the tomb, "moving "as was seemly" from right to left. My "companions then made the great *salaam* and prayed "in silence while I laid my roses on the grave. Then "there came vividly to my mind some words of the "amiable and open-minded Sleeman. 'Considering "all the circumstances of time and place, Akbar has "always appeared to me, among sovereigns, what "Shakespeare was among poets; and, feeling as a "citizen of the world, I reverenced the marble slab

"that covers his bones, more perhaps than I should "that over any other sovereign with whose history "I am acquainted.*' I too, could say that no other "burial place had so moved me as this of Akbar.

"Yet a little while we lingered on the terraces and "in the garden ways before we could decide to "leave a spot made so beautiful by art and so rich by "memories. When warned by the growing heat, we "at length entered our carriage at the outer gate-"way, we saw, leaning against it the British serjeant, "with crossed arms, short clay pipe comfortably "between his teeth and an air of which every detail "confessed the proud consciousness and lofty indif-"ference of a conqueror. We had then lost sight of "our friendly guides. Hardly had the carriage "started when there floated from a minaret a melodi-"ous "La-iláha illa-l-láh" and to our still greater "surprise, there resounded from the balcony above "us and in responses to powerful strokes the deep "tones of a drum. In a trice the valiant serjeant had "vanished; the eyes of my two companions flashed "like fire and the Sayyid, turning once more towards "the magnificent monument we were leaving, said "in a tone of deep emotion, Listen, then, Sir how the "*naqqárah* sounds?—To me, it was all like a dream, "but on my return drive to Ágrah, I formed the "resolution to hold in remembrance Akbar and the "age of Akbar."

* Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official by Lt.-Col. W. H. Sleeman Vol. 2, p. 39.

THE END.

CORRIGENDA.

Biog. notice, p. i, l. 11, *for* Anzeichnungen *read* Aufzeichnungen.
Do. p. v, n. *for* 1817 *read* 1827.

I. p. 14 *for* Bániyán *read* Bámian.
p. 20 last lines. The modern view is that Jainism is distinct from Buddhism, and coeval with, if not anterior to it. See Hunter's I. Gazetteer, VI, pp. 158-62.
p. 30 l. 11, omit words "no question of."
p. 34 n. *for* Hedaja *for* Hedaya.
p. 37 n. *for* Rohilkhánd *read* Rohilkhand.
p. 38 l. 16 *for* residencies *read* residences.
p. 42 margin, *for* 709 *read* 907.
p. 45 Hunter says Khánwa or Khánua is 37 m. W. of Agra.
p. 48 *for* Rhotás *read* Rohṭás.
p. 49 2nd para. margin, *for* 946 *read* 947.
p. 53 *for* Monzem *read* Mu'uzzam.
p. 56 and elsewhere *for* 'Askárí *read* 'Askarí.
p. 58 line 14 *for* Bakshí *read* Bakhshí, and at l. 17 *for* Mirah *read* Mirak, and *for* Bacheh *read* Bachah. Abul Fazl I, 225 says that the princess was called bíjah or bíchah.
p. 60 last para. margin, *for* 975 *read* 957.
p. 67 n. l. 5 *for* give *read* gives.
p. 76 n. *for* Yadgar *read* Yádgár.
p. 80 l. 11 *for* Gwlaiár *read* Gwáliár.
p. 99 l. 11 *for* Bashí *read* Bakhshí.
p. 109 n. *for* Lord of the world *read* Lord of the age.
p. 116 n. l. 2 *for* Abdul *read* Abul.
p. 126 n. *for* Sir *read* Ser, and descriptive *for* pescriptive.
p. 127 l. 11 omit "the." Do. n. *for* Naçíb *read* Naqíb.
p. 130 n. *for* den *read* dem.
p. 133 l. 4 *for* famons *read* famous.
p. 139 eight lines from bottom, *for* brahmáns *read* bráhmans.
p. 144 l. 3 and n. *for* ráchí *read* rákhí, and in note put comma after gold.
p. 145 *for* Bár *read* Baṛ.
pp. 150 and 151 *for* Suryavansa *read* Surjyavansa.
p. 165 n. *for* parasong *read* parasang.
p. 193 l. 5 *for* Mírzá *read* Mírzás.
p. 197 n. Akbar started from Síkrí on Sunday 10 Sháryúr or 24 Rabi-us-sání, and reached Balisana or Málayana (qu. Meysana) on the ninth day (Monday) but the battle took place two days later, *viz.*, on Wednesday 20 Sháryúr or 5 Jumádí I. Akbar did not go to Patan, but left it on the west. The battle was fought of course at Ahmadabad.

p. 198 l. 1, apparently 30th should be 31st and the Hijra date should probably be 3 Jumádí I. See Abul Fazl, III, 47.

Do. do. *for* 5 *read* 10.

p. 198 n. *for* Hansmahál *read* Hansmahal, and *for* Sojhat *read* Sojat.

Do. 8th line from bottom *for* Sáharmatí *read* Sábarmatí.

p. 200 l. 11, Abul Fazl, III, 59, says that Mahommad Hussein was put in charge of Mán Singh Darbárí.

Do. ll. 13 and 17 *for* Mard Azmái Shah, *read* Sháh Madad.

p. 204 2nd note, *for* Batoutach *read* Batoutah, and *for* Sanguinetté *read* Sanguinettí.

p. 205 l. 8 *for* Qanauj *read* Kanauj.

p. 206 n. 1st para. omit comma after Muhammadan, 2nd para. *for* furtherost *read* furthest, l. 26 *for* Shahbázipúr *read* Sháhbázpur. 5th from bottom, *for* makall *read* mahálI.

p. 208 n. l. 4 *for* Indit *read* Indil.

p. 226 n. *for* Downet *read* Douwet.

p. 227 last l. *for* Rhoṭás *read* Rohṭás.

Do. n. *for* naqqnára *read* naqqára.

p. 229 n. *for* night of Dé *read* month of Dí.

p. 231 l. 11 *for* three *read* six. No. 4 *for* safarché *read* safarchí.

p. 238 n. *for* Shabáz *read* Sháhbáz.

Vol. II. n. p. 15 n. *for* Yadzí *read* Yazdí.

p. 33 last line. Omit quotation marks.

p. 41 n. No. 2. Omit words. "Possibly son of Said Badakshí."

p. 46 Omit "? *Banaboy*" *vide* Abul Fazl III, 340, Bib. Ind. ed.

p. 47 n. l. 5 *for* second *read* third.

p. 82 n. last line *for* some *read* more.

p. 86 n. l. 6 *for* daughter *read* sister, *vide* I, 89. The mistake is Blochmann's l. c. 502.

p. 89 l. 21 *for* Macoenas *read* Mœcenas.

p. 91 l. 1. Insert "of" before Atáliq.

p. 100, *vide* Ain-i-Akbari, Bib. Ind. ed. I, 491. The proper spelling is Chárans and Bhâṭs.

p. 232 n. *for* Nawal *read* Nowál.

p. 233 n. *for* Rehatsah *reod* Rehatsek.

p. 268 sec from bottom, *for* Kushroz *read* Khushroz.

pp. 301 and 309 *for* Revdánda *read* Revdanda.

p. 311 margin *for* 1001 *read* 1002. See Abul Fazl, III, 644. Bib. Ind. ed. do. five lines from bottom, *for* "are" *read* is, do. one line from bottom, *for* "coming armament" *read* warlike preparations.

p. 341 *for* Abdul *read* Abul.

p. 358 *for* Abdurahim read Abdurrahmán.

I. p. 175 & II., 256, "Akbar's" lamp. For description and plate of this building, see J. A. S. B., Vol. LVI, Part I p. 75.

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